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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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PITHY PARAGRAPHS

ON THE VARIOUS PHASES OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD.

A "Savior of the People's Rights"—One of the Hague Peace Anomalies—Electrification and the "Betterments of Life"—Has Orchard Made Application to the Psychic Epileptics' Club?—Child Death in Germ-Laden Atmosphere—Japanese Diplomacy at Work.

The Judge of the United States Circuit Court, who decided in Asheville, N. C., in favor of the Southern Railway and Atlantic Coast Line by pronouncing the two-cent rate unconstitutional is the next capitalist magistrate to be canonized as a "savior of the people's rights."

The electrification of the railroads, and the consequent exposure of freight brakemen to deadly contact with bare wires of high voltage is another one of the "betterments of life" which capitalism points to with pride. It remains for Socialism to advance upon the advance, and procure speed without committing murder to get it.

"Psychic epilepsy," the defense of Dr. Elmore E. Elliot against a charge of assault, is described by a specialist as a frightful sort of a failing. The victim of it is "prone to commit various acts of violence ranging from simple assault to murder," and all, sometimes, "with exalted religious ideas." Has Orchard made application to the Psychic Epileptics' Club?

The unmincing endorsement by Attorney Eugene Engley, of the S. L. P. position on the stand at Boise on the 2nd instant, must have caused a cold chill to course the veins of the blood-seeking prosecution, from Borah and Hawley down. Clearly as ever Caesar's ghost to Brutus, Engley's words must have said to them "At Phillipi."

Dead of the germ-laden atmosphere due to the street cleaners' strike, is the fate of ten-months-old Marie Horton. Who should bear the blame, the drivers who struck for a betterment of their conditions, or the criminally obstinate city officials who refused to listen to their grievances? The historian of the working class will say the latter.

The Japanese Association, of 'Frisco, has issued a statement pouring oil upon the troubled waters of the educational situation there. Japanese diplomacy runs too deep to be caught courting a war until it has its own powder trains all laid and the fuses burning.

The ice strike and the street cleaning cart drivers' strike, both of which were called at strategically the best time, the sweltering weather of June, seem to have both been ruined by pure-and-simple "labor leadership." The ice strike has, if reports be true, been turned into a stampede back to work at the old terms; the street cleaners have returned "pending arbitration." Speed the day of Industrial Unionism, when unconditional surrender of the robber class will be the only terms listened to.

The committee from the C. F. U. which interviewed Mayor McClellan on the street cleaners' strike, called themselves "the representatives of the real tax-payers." The committee deserves thanks for again emphasizing the oft-denied connection between Gompers' A. F. of L. and the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation.

The U. S. charge-d'affaires at Guatemala was the only member of the diplomatic corps there who failed to protest against the wholesale arrests of private citizens by President Cabrera. Has American capital some deal it needs Cabrera's assistance in pulling off?

'Tis not the banking class, or International Plutocracy only that is scenting carrion in Russia and loans money to the Tzar. The class below, the active capitalist, feels the odor rising and dilating its nostrils. British, French and American syndicates are bidding for the job of running the Nevski Navy Yard. The one loans money, the other rents the privilege of building instruments of destruction.

The Dick Act does not seem to have made much progress. It was intended to re-organize the militia in such a way that it could be homogeneous with the military. The purpose of the Act was to get on foot a virtual standing army many thousands stronger than the Federal forces, with power to march into any State. Complaints are coming in that the "States are tardy" in reorganizing under the Dick Act. The complainers should remember that the links of the chains for tyranny to fetter a people cannot be forged over night.

HANNEMANN'S "CONVENTION"

A FULL, COMPLETE AND AUTHENTIC REPORT.

Thrilling Story of the First, Last, and Only Convention of Hanneman, Hanneman of New York, and "His President," Chas. O. Sherman—Beginning at the Beginning, and Going Through To the End.

Chicago, July 5.—The first annual convention of Wm. J. F. Hannemann and "your President," Chas. O. Sherman of the expelled reactionary ring of the Industrial Workers of the World, has been "called" and "held"; and great was the "holding" thereof.

On the 3rd inst., early in the morning, after months of suspended activity, the telephone bell at "148 West Madison" suddenly goes off, severely startling Wm. J. F. Hannemann, Hannemann of New York, and "his President," Charles O. Sherman. They rush head over heels to the 'phone. Sherman stumbles in his haste. Hannemann wins the joyous race. He takes down the receiver.

Hannemann—Hallo-o-o—

Along the wire comes a rich masculine voice from the other end,—H'llo, who is this?

H.—Hannemann, Hannemann of New York.

The voice—Yes? Is it the Industrial Workers' Headquarters?

H.—Yeas, Yeas, Yeas!

The Voice—Well, say, you people are going to have a convention to-morrow?

H.—Yeas, Yeas, Yeas!

The Voice—When will it be held?

H.—Well—hm—ye-as—Who is this talking?

The Voice—The City Press. We wish to give you people public notice, all we can of it. Where is your convention to be held?

H.—Well—hm—er—You see, to-morrow being a national holiday—hm—we will—meet—er—only to adjourn, and to —er—meet again Friday.

The Voice—Ah, to meet again Friday, eh? Well, when you meet Friday, WHERE will you meet?

H.—Well, hm, er, You see Friday—when—we—convene,—er,—it will be in executive session. Nothing will—be given to the public.

The Voice—Oh, nothing will be given out, eh?

H.—Oh, yeas, oh, yeas,—there will be lots given out to the public—later on,—when we meet again.

The Voice—Oh, well then, (impatiently) when you DO meet, IN WHAT HALL WILL YOU MEET? You see, it's of no use to us to mention the convention if we can't tell where it is.

H.—Well, hm, er—(desperately) Hold the line a minute!! (Serious consultation between Wm. J. F. Hannemann and "his President" Charles O. Sherman. Then,)

H.—Hallo-o-o

The Voice—Well? Hallo!

H.—WHO IS THIS TALKING?

The Voice.—This is the City Press, Mr. Jones of the City Press.

H.—Oh, er hm. Well, Mr. Jones, you see, owing to the peculiar position we are in, the, er, peculiar position, we cannot give you the name of the hall now,—we don't know just now.

The Voice.—Oh, you don't know, don't you?

H.—No, er, but if you will give us

Continued on page 6.)

THE GREAT BATTLE IN DENVER

The latest correspondence, dated June 26th, from the reporter for The People at the Denver convention of the Western Federation of Miners, justifies the expectations that were entertained in advance of the gathering; it also confirms the exepectations which The People's correspondent suggested from the start of the meeting of the convention; the correspondence finally foreshadows accurately the outcome of the great battle in the Labor Movement that the convention is the scene of.

As to the expectations entertained in advance of the convention and confirmed by the initial reports—that the convention would be in the nature of "unmasking secret batteries," or of "smoking out coons" from their burrows, and that, in that way, the convention would be a generous contributor to the volume of facts from which the revolutionary, because sound, Labor Movement draws its theories—those expectations are verified beyond the most sanguine expectations.

One of the principles upon which the sound Labor Movement is planted is that some form of economic organization is the breath in the nostrils of all political organization claiming to be of and for Labor; furthermore, that, acting and reacting upon each other, the economic organization echoes back the tenets and methods of the political organization which is the reflex of the economic. A. F. of L. craft Unionism is the reflector of the Socialist Party; the S. P., accordingly, does and cannot choose but echo back A. F. of L. craft union views as well as methods; acting and reacting upon each other, the spokesmen of craft Unionism re-echo the S. P., and the spokesmen of the S. P. re-echo craft Unionism. This intimacy, in fact, identity of essence between the reflector and the reflectee, both the craft unionist and the S. P.-ist have sought to conceal. The attempt is impossible of execution. At the Denver convention the "masked batteries" were unmasked by the cannonade of the St. Johns and the Ryans, the "coons" were "smoked out of their burrows" by the fire of the Heslewoods and the Rawlinses. Kirwan and Petriella, both naturally enough bitter S. P. partisans, both being dyed-in-the-wool craft unionists, were, as The People's reporter narrates, brazen enough to repeat the thoroughly exposed slanders started against the S. T. & L. A. and echoed by the S. P. Brazenness is not courage: brazenness is desperation. At the I. W. W. convention Haywood honored himself by doing the S. T. & L. A. delegation the justice of saying: "If all the delegations to this convention had been as clear and as well disciplined [almost superfluous adjectives: those who are "clear" act necessarily "disciplined"—disciplined by the oneness of their purpose] this convention would have transacted its business within 4 days instead of 14." It takes the Kirwan-Petriella craft-union-S.-P.-ists to indulge in stale craft unionist slander of the determined band that first raised the standard of revolt against that outpost of capitalism—the craft union and its beneficiaries. It takes such a combine of reflector and reflectee to furnish the completest proof of the identity of soul that animates A. F. of L.-ism and its reflex, S. P.-ism.

Another principle upon which the sound Labor Movement stands is that he who stands on unsound ground is bound to behave improperly. Indeed, improper behavior is a "warning of Nature." Like the rattlesnake's rattle announces the viper, improper behavior announces impropriety of the Cause requiring such behavior. The report to The People brings out the damaging charge made at the convention against Mahoney that he, the Acting President of the W. F. of M., was vice-president of a wildcat mining concern AT GOLDFIELD—at Goldfield of all places, where he was praised and applauded by the capitalist and mine owners press, at the time when he went there on account of the strike! As to Kirwan and Petriella, the virtues of their behavior are of old standing. Kirwan was the worthy who acknowledged receipt of only $8,000 from Trautmann, when he, in fact, had received $9,000 for the Defense Fund, and who abstained from making public admission of a "mistake" which he had incurred in public, thus leaving Trautmann's character under a cloud. As to Petriella, the record that marks his tracks as a gatherer of funds for, and starter of wildcat S. P. papers, in his majestic march westward from the East via Toledo, Detroit, etc., has been sufficiently detailed in these columns. A crooked Cause needs crooked methods.

As to the outcome which The People's correspondent suggested from the start, and which his latest report confirms—that is that all the ribaldry of O'Neill's editorial conduct, together with all the intrigues of Mahoney and Kirwan to pack the convention, so as to furnish the Sherman Detective Company of Reactionists with a victory, would suffer shipwreck. It is clear now that the endorsement of the Sherman Company is out of the question. The Chicago Convention Reactionists are beaten. Their plot being smashed, their last ditch, as foreshadowed by The People's reporter's letter of the 26th, will be to "seek to unify the two factions." This is a confession, lame though it be, of defeat. The original scheme of siding with Sherman being defeated, the schemers are compelled to recognize "the Trautmann faction" (hitherto declared non-existant) as well as the "Sherman faction" which it requires a microscope to discover, and decide to "reconcile" the "two factions."—Blessed be the peace makers.

Finally, The People's reporter writes of letters read at the convention from Moyer and Haywood, the former "taking the stand of Mahoney and denouncing Trautmann," the latter upholding the integrity of Trautmann and not upholding Sherman. The only interest in this episode is the official publication of facts that give the lie to the statement made by the "Volkszeitung" when it published Moyer's letter to the miners advising them to uphold Sherman. The "Volkszeitung" statement was: "As is well known Haywood shares Moyer's views." The People cared not at the time to contradict the false "Volkszeitung" statement. Right or Wrong are not determined by "who says so." The Labor Movement has suffered enough for followinng "headlights." To hasten at the time to contradict the "Volkszeitung's" false statement would have been to play into the hands of popular weakness. Of Haywood's sound judgment better was to be expected than a line-up with Shermanism. It is pleasurable to see that the truth is now established—in justice to Haywood, from whom the Labor Movement is justified to expect gigantic aid.

Great is the battle fought by the W. F. of M. convention.

All hail to the intrepid men who, it is obvious now, will pluck the flower Safety from the nettle Danger, so carefully planted, and raised by the craft unionist reactionists, who, since Haywood's arrest, have been misruling the W. F. of M.!

BRADLEY CONTRADICTS ORCHARD

Says the House Was Blown Up by Gas And Not by Dynamite—Seventeen Other 'Frisco Residents Also Swear That the Assassin Lied When He Said He Placed the Bomb at Bradley's Front Door—Prosecution Admits Depositions Give Severe Blow to the Celebrated "Confession."

Boise, Idaho, July 8.—Another link in Orchard's celebrated "confession," in which it was sought to implicate officers of the Western Federation of Miners, was easily broken soon after the convening of court to-day.

The day's session began with the reading of testimony offered by the defense on the subject of the explosion at the house of Fred W. Bradley, in Washington street, San Francisco, in 1904. Clarence Darrow began the reading of two hundred and sixty-nine typewritten pages relating to the explosion. The reading occupied the entire day.

The testimony was taken by a commission appointed by Judge Wood, and it completely contradicts Orchard's story about his placing a bomb on the front porch of the Bradley house as part of the conspiracy alleged against the Western Federation of Miners, and of which the State asserts that the Steunenberg murder was an incident.

The defense during the stay of the commission in San Francisco secured the testimony of Bradley himself and seventeen others, expressing the belief that the explosion was due to gas, and declaring that it was not caused by dynamite, as Orchard alleged in his "confession."

Orchard declared that the bomb arranged by him to be exploded when the front porch was opened contained about ten pounds of dynamite encased in a large section of leaden pipe.

The evidence given by the San Francisco witnesses further impeaches Orchard as a witness. This testimony is relied upop by the defense to convince the jury that Orchard lied when he said he placed a bomb at Bradley's front door and that he was sent to kill Bradley by the officials of the Western Federation of Miners.

The prosecution is even forced to admit that the San Francisco depositions will seriously cloud Orchard's whole story. This is a significant admission.

Boise, Idaho, July 6.—The following story is going the rounds here: Having failed to corroborate the stories of assassination told by Orchard chief witness against W. D. Haywood, accused of complicity in the killing of ex-Governor Steunenberg, the prosecution is attempting a new scheme by which it has hoped to get Moyer to turn State's evidence.

But the plans of the prosecution seem to have failed utterly in this last scheme. To get Moyer to turn against his old friend, his wife was taken up by one Mrs. Calvin Cobb, the recognized social leader of Boise, and the wife of the Chancellor of Republican politics in the State. Mrs. Cobb now refers to Mrs. Moyer as "My Dear Mrs. Moyer,'" while the wives of the other members of the Western Federation of Miners are practically scorned by Mrs. Cobb, who has spoken of them as "very common persons."

No one could explain Mrs. Cobb's sudden friendship and interest in Mrs. Moyer until to-day, when it was learned she had been trying to persuade Mrs. Moyer to get her husband to testify for the State, telling her that once he does this he will be set at liberty.

Calvin Cobb represents the prosecution even more than Gov. Gooding, for he is the proprietor of the largest daily newspaper in the State, has constantly been demanding the conviction of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and was the man responsible for the condemnation of the men by President Roosevelt as "undesirable citizens."

Mrs. Moyer soon learned that the social attention, she received was for the purpose of helping the State's case. When it became evident from the opinions of disinterested correspondents that the State's corroboration of Orchard was weak and indefinite, the feminine charge upon Mrs. Moyer began. So well had it progressed apparently that the prosecuting attorneys were told this week that the female brigade had won Mrs. Moyer to the point of promising to persuade her husband to testify for the State. So exultant was the prosecution, especially the women, that they boasted of the capitulation of Moyer before he heard of the scheme to get him to desert his comrades.

They anticipated, and the gossip of the Women's exclusive club became genral news which everybody seemed to know. The fact is that Mrs. Cobb and the sisterhood did induce Mrs. Moyer to suggest to her husband that if he would testify for the prosecution he would be immediately released.

Moyer and the lawyers for the defense simply laugh at the story.

Boise, Idaho, July 5.—Closing with the testimony in his own behalf of William D. Haywood, secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, who is on trial here on a concocted charge of conspiring to murder ex-Governor Steunenberg, the defense in the famous case rested to-night, and court was adjourned till Monday.

Marion W. Moore, of McCabe, Ariz., an executive board member of the Western Federation, was the first of the series of witnesses for the defense today who severally and conjointly put

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HENRY MAKI TESTIFIES

TELLURIDE MINER TELLS OF BEING SHACKLED TO TELEGRAPH POLE FOR REFUSING TO WORK IN A CESS-POOL.

His Picture, Taken In His Chains, Well Known All Over Country on Federation's Famous Flag Poster — Prosecution Tamed, Omits To Cross Examine Witnesses, and Makes Few Objections—Haywood and Moyer To Take Stand In Day or Two—No Session To-day.

Boise, Idaho, July 3.—More severe blows were dealt to Harry Orchard's star "testimony" by the many witnesses placed on the stand to-day by the defense in the Haywood case.

First of these was Francis C. Clifford, a life insurance agent of Sterling, Colo., where he had moved in 1905. Moving from Scranton, Pa., to Colorado, Clifford first rented desk room in Pettibone's store at Denver. There he met Orchard who was then playing his fake hail insurance game. Orchard was frequently in the store, and on one occasion had Pettibone cash in part a check for him. Orchard then disappeared, telling Clifford he was going to Alaska. Borah tried to find out whether mysterious lights were not frequently seen in Pettibone's store cellar at night, but Clifford said he only saw the cellar lighted once all the time he was there.

The next witness was Joseph C. Barnes, now a resident of Montrose, Colo. He was a Telluride deportee, and explained the militarism practised by the authorities there. He described minutely the union activities of Pinkerton No. 36, George W. Riddell, with whom he was quite intimate. Barnes testified that Riddell was constantly instigating and suggesting violence, to be carried out by other members of the union. It was he who proposed to roll two kegs of dynamite into the Liberty Bell mine; he instigated the Tom-Boy mine affair which resulted in the declaration of martial law; he advocated dynamiting the Telluride mill, and proposed the most drastic measures against scabs. Riddell opposed the pacification policies of Guy Miller, and when there was talk of calling the strike off opposed it most violently, even when the balance of the committee advocated the discontinuance of the struggle. Riddell even advised the miners to burn down the town of Telluride.

Barnes told of Riddell's holding confidential talks with Orchard when Orchard came to Telluride guarding Moyer. As Riddell boarded with Barnes, Barnes was well posted on all his actions. Riddell, in his Pinkerton role of union officer, was once imprisoned, but no harm came to him.

Pat Moran was next on the stand. He is a saloon keeper in Cheyenne, Wyo., and Orchard had "testified" that he sent Moran from Cheyenne to Denver to get $500 from Pettibone for him. Moran denied having had any confidential conversation with Orchard at Cheyenne, and categorically denied going to Denver to get Orchard's money in June, 1904. He knew Orchard as "Shorty" only, and was not even sure that Orchard had ever been in his saloon.

John Dennis, a Cripple Creek striker, was the next witness, and testified that Beckman, a Pinkerton masquerading as a socialist, advocated dynamiting and talked in favor of blowing up the Vindicator mine. Beckman attempted similar agitation at several union meetings, and got called down therefor by President George Breen.

Dennis testified to the recall of the bloodhounds when they got on Orchard's trail after the Independence Station horror. He told of the special train which was ordered to carry 157 militiamen to the "battle of Dunville." General Bell himself was guarded by five uniformed soldiers, and a hundred Teller County deputies were aboard under full arms. They went through Fremont County, capturing everybody, looting wherever they had the chance, and killing one, the aged John Carley. This murder of a defenseless old man became in Colorado militia records, the famous "battle of Dunville." On this expedition the engineer of the train was ordered not to sound his whistle as it might warn the inhabitants of the county.

David Coates, once lieutenant-governor of Idaho, was on the stand but his testimony was unimportant.

Mrs. Koyce, whose husband was a Cripple Creek miner, declared she saw Orchard the night of the Independence Depot explosion in the company of Scott and Sterling, the mine owners' "specials," the road master and some other men. She was not cross-examined.

Margaret Hooten, the wife of the manager of the union store at Cripple Creek, testified to the looting of the store during the Victor riots. The safe was drilled open and its contents taken by the militia. For distributing relief among the families of the union deportees she was twice arrested and dragged before the Mine Owners' Association trial board. There was no cross-examination of this witness either.

A story of the terrorism practised by the Citizens' Alliance wherever it had the power, was then told by Mrs. Hannah Sainders, an aged white-haired woman. One Erhardt, an Alliance member, was the owner of the building block in which she conducted the "Texas" rooming house. He confiscated her lease because she refused to join the Alliance. Subsequently she opened another house only to have her roomers forcibly run out over the hills, the same day the stores were sacked.

Henry Maki, a Finlander, and one of the Telluride deportees, next took the stand and made the most sensational testimony of the day. Maki's name and face have become well known all over the United States because of his portrait being on the famous Flag Poster, issued by the Federation in 1905. He told of his imprisonment for refusing to work in a filthy cess-pool under the bayonets of the militia, and of being handcuffed around a telegraph pole in solitary confinement. This, and other exasperating cruelty practised upon him and his comrades was all, he said, approved by Mine Owners' Adjt.-Gen. Bulkeley Wells. Maki possessed $300 when he was arrested; still he was seized on the pretext of being a "vagrant."

Maki was the last witness on the stand to-night, and considerably strengthened the impression made throughout the day by the defense's witnesses that the case against Haywood is an impossible, unfounded, criminal affair.

A further delay in the trial was threatened by the illness of Juror H. F. Massecar, at No. 7. Although sick last night he was able to continue to-day, but Judge Wood informed him that the trial would be stopped any time Massecar felt too ill to attend.

Haywood and Moyer will both testify in a day or two and then the defense will close and the prosecution open its rebuttal. The prosecution to-day acted very tamely, making few objections, and omitting to cross-examine several of the witnesses.

To-morrow being the Fourth of July, court was adjourned till Friday.

Wade R. Parks.

Boise, Idaho, July 2.—The perjured testimony of Harry Orchard in the Haywood "murder" case, received some more stiff raps to-day, when Max Malich, a Globeville smelter worker, now a hotel keeper, flatly contradicted every point in Orchard's "confession" which in any way related to him.

Malich is an Austrian residing on a ranch at Montrose, Colo. He was formerly in business at Globeville, near Denver. He related Orchard's suggesting to him that he should blow up a Globeville hotel in which were kept 150 non-union men. Orchard had said that Malich asked him to do the job. Malich swears that Orchard suggested the plan to him, but that he refused to have anything to do wih it.

Malich denied having had any criminal relations with Orchard, and never had any dealings with him, either in bombs or powder.

Malich told about the conversation with Orchard in the Denver turkish bath, in the course of which Orchard declared his enmity for Steunenberg. "He got to talking to me about Steunen-

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WOMAN AS AN ECONOMIC DEPENDENT, AND SOCIAL FACTOR

Editor Daily People:

The enclosed two articles, Woman as an Economic Dependent, and Woman as a Social Factor, have come in in response to the invitation of the Socialist Women of Greater New York, to write upon the subject.

Mrs. Gilman's article having been the first to come in, we wish in acknowledgement of the interest thus manifested by her in our work, to have her article head the list of those which we will send to The People with the request for publication, two of which we forward enclosed.

The response to our call has been so liberal that we shall have frequently to ask The People to open its columns to us.

While we take the liberty of sending these articles to The People, we request all Socialist publications to kindly copy them.

The Secretary.

New York, June 26.

Woman As An Economic Dependent.

By Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Our stubborn refusal to accept the truth as to the economic position of women is due to this widespread mistake—we confuse personal physical functions with social industrial functions.

We assume that the special activities of the female are to be considered on the same plane as general activities common to both sexes, and as a commodity—an article of exchange.

We say that the woman earns her living as a wife and more especially as a mother. No one would think of claiming that a man earned his living as a husband, or as a father. If he did—if he consented to receive payment for these services—what should we think of him? What should we call him?

Some say the woman should not depend on the husband but should be supported by the State—in return for the same services. Should we think much better of men who were willing to be supported by the State in return for those same services?

It does not matter that the woman's share in the great process of maintaining life on earth is so much more important than a man's. That is her power, her glory, her superiority as a sex; but it has nothing whatever to do with her economic position. Motherhood is not a commodity. As a matter of fact, while we talk about women earning their living as mothers, what we really want is to have them for private servants.

Cooking is not motherhood. Sweeping, scrubbing, sewing, mending, washing, the many labors of house service—these are not motherhood. On the contrary, they are most incongruous with motherhood. The fact that the vast majority of our women hold the industrial position of house servants is a great injury to motherhood; it keeps down the grade of intelligence in our people.

It is no more beneficial and ennobling for our children to have all their mothers cooks that it would be to have all their fathers footmen. The girl who has worked in a shop and then proudly withdraws from it to work in "a home of her own" thinks she is making a step up. Would she think so if her husband did it?

In economics there is no sex.

For a woman to get her food, clothes, shelter and pocket money from a man merely because she is his wife is exactly as ignominious as if he received the same benefits from her because he was her husband. For her to be provided for in return for her labors in the kitchen is just as ignominious as if she provided for him in that position.

One sex was not made to be the servant of the other. We are here to work together to benefit society as a whole, to maintain and improve the human race.

Economic independence requires that each person puts into the world more than he—or she—takes out. We consume economic goods—we must produce economic goods. We must each take part in the economic processes of society, or else be parasitic dependents on it. And the functions of sex are not economic goods.

This dependence of women upon men for their bread and butter is not only the key to the whole great "social evil," so called, but also one main reason for the delay and difficulty in establishing Socialism.

While women are thus dependent, willing to be either wholly parasites, or the servants of the other sex, they remain a vast body of backward persons, inferior in social development, unable to grasp social laws or apply them. Women are citizens, whatever we may call them; they are half the population, however we forget it, and their attitude toward Socialism is enormously important. It is true from one point of view that Socialism itself, could we attain it, would educate these women; but it is equally true—and far easier to come by—that if we educate our women we can the sooner attain Socialism.

Woman's industrial equality with man is opposed by some on account of its effect in lowering wages. That effect is utterly unnecessary; it is owing to the ignorance and lack of organization among women—owing precisely to their lack of industrial equality.

What is needed is for women to recognize their economic duty; to know that all labor must be seen in its true light, as social service; and to take their true place as co-workers in a world which is as much theirs as it is their brothers.

Their presence everywhere in the economic world would not only make them realize its needs and combine for its improvement, but it would arouse the most sluggish man to work for freedom and justice. And as mothers—women so organized, would at last see their duty to make this world a fit place for children.

Woman As a Social Factor.

(By Mrs. Olive M. Johnson.)

In considering woman's position it is necessary to acquire the habit of studying her, not by herself as a peculiar sex, but as part of the whole—as a human being. She then falls under the great laws that govern human evolution.

In this evolution it is the division of labor and the exchange of the products of labor—the mode and method of production and exchange—that determine the course of human progress.

The very first division of labor was between man and woman. Man took the field, the forest, the stream and the battlefield for his scene of action, woman took the camp, the household and its immediate surroundings. This division was from evolutionary force, not choice. To say that it was not man's and woman's distinct sexual function that was the determining factor in this division of labor, is stubbornly to ignore a great historic fact. This sexual division, so far from being degrading to man or woman either was highly advantagous to society. No parasitic class existed. Man held sway in his field, woman in hers. The woman community owned the children, it was the day of "Mother-right."

New stages arise. Man's activity impowers him to acquire wealth. Woman's possessions—household necessities—are not wealth from an economic stand point. Man becomes economically powerful in society at large. Woman's power lessens. With man's power to accumulate fortunes arises "fortune's desire" to perpetuate itself in the male line. Male inheritance arises. Mother-right gives way to paternal law. Sexual freedom of woman is abridged because the male can assure his claim to the offspring only as his female is excluded from other men. Class rule has developed. There are conflicts within a society and wars without.

Humanity is wasted. In nature it is well recognized that the species survives which produces the most and best fitted offspring. In the fierce struggles during the formation of the ancient and modern nations, quick reproduction and healthy children became a necessity—a real economic problem. Woman's sexual function became a most important economic function. In relation to society she was considered as the rearer of future citizens, and was supported and tolerated as such only. It matters not how we may dislike it, to deny it is to deny a great historic fact.

Then comes the great age of medieval individualism. The family is the unit, not only sexually but individually as well. The home is the workshop. The division of labor has carried mankind to the height of individual independence in production and exchange. Economically woman's and man's division of labor still continues on the first general lines. She keeps close to the home and the children, man is free to choose a broader field. Economic necessity still demands it and to quarrel with economic necessity means self-destruction. Her laws are imperative.

In modern society the division of labor has reached the zenith, and it is the irony of evolutionary fate that it spells CO-OPERATION. This is an industrial age and individual production is but ancient relics. Even household pursuits have been crowded out by industry. But from the nature of the fact that the organization of society has not kept pace with developed production, the household pursuits withstand industrialism most successfully. Woman herself, holds most stubbornly to the individual home, though economic necessity often tears her away. But economic necessity there is far from kind. It throws her into wage-slavery. It forces her into store, shop and factory. It grinds her under the heel of capital. It makes her coarse and bold and self-important without making her strong and free and self-reliant. It is therefore that the working woman dearly loves the old fashioned way. And who can dare blame her? The home with the little cradle, the stove, the dishpan, the washtub and all the belongings—agreeable and disagreeable, both—are for her a little haven where she is at least her own master in a small way. To claim that she performs no service to society is to claim that these little household groups are no part of society. At the most, one might say it is old fashioned and a waste of society's time. But then modern society wastes too much energy to have a right to be too exacting.

It is only the semi-aristocratic "women's right woman," who has learned to look upon household work as "servants' tasks," to whom it is actually repulsive. To the working woman who knows it as dear mother's task it is infinitely more pleasant than the daily grind by a machine under a coarse, brutal, exacting boss.

But there are women in the working class to whom this work becomes oppressive. These are the women with a future mind. To them it becomes oppressive not in the light of modern industrialism, but in the light of future collectivism. These women, the Socialist women, spend no time quarrellng with their economic position individually. They join the Socialist movement and work with their husbands and brothers and friends for the abolition of the wage system which they know enslaves both men and women. Under Socialism the division of labor will have reached a point where all can be useful economic factors without degradation and slavery. Wealth will become common property and the individual will be emancipated from the power it gives and the degradation it enforces. Only then for the first time can the sexual and economic functions of woman be entirely separated.

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TRUTH, OR SLANDER?

THE INTERNATIONALLY MISLEADING CAPITALIST COMMENT ON THE LATE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

The recent German elections have been thoroughly discussed by the capitalist press in this country, and mostly all have rejoiced over what they termed the defeat of Socialism in the Empire.

But not all mouthpieces of public information were carried off by mere appearances, and notably was this the case with the "Arena," in its issue of April last, where it gave the following concise synopsis.

"A typical illustration of the untrustworthy character of the daily press when commenting on news about which the plutocracy does not wish the people correctly informed was seen in the way the late German election news was given out, and especially in the long editorials dealing with the alleged crushing of the Socialists of the Empire, which, according to the writers, was indicated by the returns. The one fact on which all these comments were based was the substantial reduction of the representation of the party in the Reichstag, it being cut down from 79 to 43, a fact which on its face would seem to warrant in a measure the scare headlines and labored editorials which sought to convey to the public the news that Socialism has received a great set-back, that its adherents were deserting it in a wholesale manner, and that it would from now on be a dwindling power.

"Such and many similar gloomy predictions, that were merely representative of the wish of the masters of the writers, appeared in daily, weekly and monthly periodicals from ocean to ocean; yet the fact was that owing to the shamefully inequitable and unjust electoral system that has been in operation for the past forty years, the Socialists, who polled 3,240,000 votes, secured only 43 representatives in Parliament; while the Conservatives, the Kaiser's party, which polled only 1,120,000 votes, elected 80 representatives to Parliament.

"The Socialist vote at the last election was a little over 3,240,000, or ALMOST A QUARTER OF A MILLION VOTES MORRE THAN THE PARTY POLLED IN 1903; and this enormous gain in four years does not represent merely the increase in the number of BONA FIDE Socialists throughout the realm, for the reason that at the 1903 election the Liberals and Radicals, where they felt the Socialists had a better chance of election than anyone they could nominate, supported the Socialist ticket in preference to giving the autocratic government and the reactionary clericals an opportunity for using a pronounced victory to render possible the sinister plans in regard to the further limitation of the people's rights and popular government that the Kaiser had imprudently threatened. The result of this in 1903 was that the Liberal and Radical representation was greatly reduced and the Socialist representation was abnormally augmented. This year the Liberals and Radicals held the field and have materially increased their representation, while the Socialists have lost seats that by the aid of the Liberal votes they carried at the preceding election. But while this is true, as noted above, the Socialist vote shows a net gain above the augmented vote of 1903.

"Furthermore, all the government, commercial, social and reactionary influences were entered against the Socialists in the recent election, and a systematic attempt was made, not only to harras and discredit the Socialists, but to bring all persons holding their tenets into disgrace. When one remembers how much a powerful government, a hereditary aristocracy, a great capitalist press and other reactionary influences in society can do when they unite, it is amazing that over 5,240,000 voters dared to stand up and to be counted for social democracy."

It must be confessed that the foregoing is a very fair resumé of conditions as they really are, and for this reason it will the more contrast with the following, written by Karl Blind, a so-called "revolutionist" of 1848-49 and published in the "Nineteenth Century and After" in No. 361, March 1907.

The writer rambles over a wide field, but in nearly every turn he finds fault with the Socialists, and to show what a sad lot they are he starts his article with some references of Lasalle.

. . . "There was once a considerable chance of the Prussian House of Commons—before the constitution of the present Empire—coming into revolutionary conflict with the Crown. It was in the early days of Bismarck's and his king's 'budgetless' government. The Liberal and Radical middle class, and many men of the working classes, were deeply moved against despotic kingships. But what happened? Lassalle, the professed Socialist leader, entered into underhand intrigues with Bismarck, promising to rouse the masses against the burgher party, so as to get the latter between two fires. The royal army in front, a demagogically misled populace in the rear, of the champions of parliamentary privilege were to play the monarchical game!

"I can give here some proofs from personal knowledge. In order to fortify himself with the working-class in Germany, Lassalle wrote to Louis Blanc, then an exile in London, in a general Socialistic way, for the object of getting from him a kind of testimonial for sincere doctrinal comradship. Knowing, well how matters stood, I warned my French friend who had shown me the letter. Meanwhile Lassalle, in a speech, came out with the declaration that the House of Hohenzollern, as a representative of true popular kingship (Volks-Königthum), must with a firm grip of the hand on the sword, drive the middle class from the stage with a proclamation of manhood suffrage!

. . . "Louis Blanc afterwards thanked me heartily for having prevented him from falling into a trap. Later on, Lassalle was shot in a duel. The conflict arose with a Roumanian rival for the hand of a young German lady of aristocratic connection, whom Lassalle wanted to marry in order to give himself a higher social standing, but who had already been very much cooled by his semi-diplomatic behavior. In this affair General Klapka, the heroic defender of Komorn during the Hungarian war of independence, played a part as a friend of Lassalle. Klapka, who was also a friend of mine later on told me that the Countess Hatzfeld (the well-known protectress of Lassalle) had said to him: 'If Lassalle had lived six months longer, he would have entered the service of the Prussian Government!'

"Yet Lassalle's portrait still figures at Social Democratic meetings! I refer to these facts to show a popular party, in an epoch of a great crisis, can be misled by a selfseeking character. Social Democrats in Germany might learn something from this authenticated occurrence.

. . . "Socialist writers and speakers themselves acknowledge now that they have lost many of their former 'Mitlaeufer,' in whom suddenly a patriotic sentiment was awakened when they saw the Pope's band joining the party with which they had allied themselves. The chief fact, however, is, that the Socialist loss has occured in the most influential centres of the political movement, and of industry and trade. That counts far more than mere numbers in constituencies of second, third, or fourth-rate importance. The fall from eighty-one seats (as they were originally in 1903), or seventy-nine, as they were afterwards, to forty-three—that is to say, to nearly one-half—is a rout impossible to get over.

. . . "It is truly a pity that, in some cases, the Socialist party in various constituencies has, for the second ballots, advised its own adherents to vote, by preference, for a partisan of the Ultramontane Centre, rather than for a Liberal! On the contrary, in some other constituencies, the Radical, Progressist, or Democratic parties advised their friends to vote even rather for a Socialist than for a follower of the Vatican-ist gang. To see Socialists as 'Mitlaeufer' of that band of monkish obscurantists who yearn for the recall of the Jesuits is, indeed, a sorry spectacle."

To comprehend the rantings of this "revolutionist" of by-gone days, it must be remembered that the dissolution of the former Reichstag was decreed because it refused to grant millions of marks to be dumped in the colonies. The Catholic or Centre party and the Socialist were the main obstacles. The writer, of course, is in favor of a "greater" Fatherland, perhaps for the same reason as some of our jingoes, to make Uncle Sam dump millions of dollars into it every year, and seeing his desire somewhat endangered, he resurrects the old yarn of the black and red international working hand in hand for the same purpose.

It stands to reason that the Socialist party of Germany has committed blunders, and the recent set-back may prove to be a blessing in disguise. But it is not merely interesting but instructive also, to learn the ideas and wishes of the enemy, and for this reason the above utterings have been compiled.

The assertions about Lassalle sound rather familiar, though new, but by judging the veracity of the writer in his other assertions, which can easier be judged, because open to all, they don't amount to much.

FRED. FELLERMANN.

History of a Proletarian
...Family...
Across the Ages

By Eugene Sue.
Translated by Daniel De Leon.

In order to understand our own time it is absolutely necessary that we know something of the times that have gone before. The generations are like links in a chain, all connected. The study, by which we can learn what has been done and thought before us, is history, and this is perhaps the most fascinating of all studies. Many historians fill their books with nothing but battles and the doings of "great" men, but happily this style of writing history is becoming obsolete, and the history of the people is taking its place. Socialism is more concerned with the history of the people than with the doings of kings and queens; and with a knowledge of the history of the people we can better understand how the great men achieved prominence. Eugene Sue has given us in the form of fiction the best universal history extant. It is a monumental work entitled "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

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— By EUGENE V. DEBS. —

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT GRAND CENTRAL PALACE, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 10, 1905.

"The Industrial Workers is organized, not to conciliate, but to fight the capitalist class. We have no object in concealing any part of our mission; we would have it perfectly understood. We deny that there is anything in common between workingmen and capitalists. We insist that workingmen must organize to get rid of capitalists and make themselves the masters of the tools with which they work, freely employ themselves, secure to themselves all they produce, and enjoy to the full the fruit of their labors."

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THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAT

A REVIEW, BY FRANK BOHN.

The only remarkable feature about American contributions to Socialist literature is the very large quantity of matter published, when this is contrasted to the small permanent additions made to Socialist thought. We have books marked with the red label of "Socialism" in which it is contended that religion and Socialism are identical. "Historians" of the movement mix up their personal antagonisms of the present with their account of the past. Now the standards of science demand that an author either discover to the world something of importance hitherto unknown, or that he collect and organize many known facts into a systematic whole. Applying this standard, it will be readily admitted that the number of really efficient Socialist writers in America is limited. Not counting many who, while writing brilliantly on history and the class struggle, are not avowed Socialists, they can surely be counted on the fingers of one hand. Of these no well informed person will deny that the author of "The Rise of the American Proletarian" is one. And this not because of his latest book, but in spite of it.

The field of this bold effort is already vast. For three centuries an ever growing American proletariat has wriggled about in its painful efforts, individually or collectively, to remove the hook from its gills. It is a long and involved story, this—one which may well make the cautious scholar hesitant.

To begin with, there are as yet almost no monographic materials dealing with the subject. Furthermore, before we can have a history of the American Proletariat and Labor Movement, we must have a history of American industry with especial reference to capitalism.

An outline of the history of American capitalism is what our author has really written. Such should be the title of his book. The chapter headings show this. The first three (I. The Growth of Industrial Organization; II. Instruments of Production, and III. The Factory System) are a general theoretic statement of the capitalist system. In this preliminary, covering 71 of the 213 pages of the volume, the development of the English Industrial Revolution is described. The reason for this springs from the opinion of the author that American capitalism is an off-shoot of that of the English system. In this he is quite mistaken. When he states, (p. 72) "The United States is the child of the Industrial Revolution", he avers the very opposite of the fact. The democratic, individualistic American of 1776 and 1829 was the direct product on the one hand of American commercial interests and on the other of the individualistic rural life of the country. Of the same piece is the statement (p. 74) that "the earlier American system was largely a facsimile of that of the British Isles prior to the great industrial revolution prior to 1760. The agrarian system of the South was, on the other hand, a product of the surviving English feudalism."

In the Northern and Middle Colonies the farmers owned the land they used, because, there being more arable lands than could possibly be cultivated, only fools would have paid rent. In England, landlordism, then as now, was prevalent. Thus, economically and socially, the two systems were widely divergent. And as for feudalism, the one hopelessly foolish attempt to plant it, following the utopian schemes of John Locke in the latter part of the 17th century, ended as every practical colonist anticipated it would end. Feudalism is a form of landlordism. The slave system of the South was not an "off-shoot" of feudalism. Systems a century and more dead and buried don't shoot. Southern slavery was the natural social fruit of sugar cane, indigo, tobacco, rice, and later, cotton. The legal and political machinery of America may be traced, in part, to English forms—but not the economic processes of the Colonies. These were molded in the crucible of climatic and physiographic conditions, and to these political and social forms were soon adapted. Of all capitalist countries, the United States has been most peculiar in its development. The steam-boat and the cotton gin, the former producing an empire and the latter rending it, were both the product of local problems.

Turn from Engels' "The English Working Class in 1844" to Mark Twain's "Life on the Mississippi," and we are clear on this point.

Besides the handicraftsmen necessary to a farming community, who lived on terms of equality with the farmers, the early American proletarians were shipbuilders and sailors. These worked for the commercial capitalists, because, fine forests standing close to spacious harbors, ships could be built cheaper than in England, even though wages were higher. It is to be regretted that the opening chapters of "The Rise of the American Proletarian" throw little light on their history. The first three chapters of the book are interesting reading, however, and would make a good introduction to a history of English industrial capitalism.

At the beginning of Chapter IV, (Early Industrial History of the United States) we come across a couple of paragraphs which illustrate a peculiarly unscientific frame of mind from which but few of even the best trained Socialist writers are exempt. The author, lifting himself on the wings of fancy, transports himself, with all his 20th century scientific conceptions, Socialist political opinions and class antagonisms to the belfry of Independence Hall and there, as judge, jury, prosecuting attorney and high sheriff ensemble, he sits in judgment of the men, the principles, the ethical standards, and the historical results of the time.

"In reality," he says, "its revolution was made in terms of money and trade. It was carried through with the most pompous announcements of human liberty which hardly veiled the real designs of its instigators.—The cynicism of that first treason to its publicly advertised theories has persisted in its people until the 'mocking devil' in their blood has become a by-word among the nations." Among what nations? Capitalist England, perhaps, of whom, Heine said, "The Old Man of the Sea would make a mouthful, if sickness at the stomach would not result." Perhaps German Junkerdom, after the "liberty" war of 1813-15.

Carl Schurz, in his autobiography, tells of desperate deeds and hair breadth escapes galore in the cause of German capitalist liberty in 1848. But nothing he endured was so terrible as imprisonment with a young thief, in Paris. Think of it! To associate for a day or two with a boy who had committed a crime against the sanctity of property rights! Schurz and Kinkel, Washington and Jefferson, Cromwell and Hampton—these were all of the same flesh and blood. Feudalism, despotism, capitalism, Socialism, with all their politics, religion and morals—those who push forward these various systems and ideals in time of revolution are not "instigators", but the strong material of which history is made, and who make history. The historian, whose work is to discover and state facts, should engage in no criticism of moralities.

Chapters VI, VII, and VIII (VI, The Rise of the Greater Capitalism; VII, Oligarchy and Imperialism; VIII, The Period of Corruption) are a discussion of the trend of American Capitalism in the immediate past, and of current events. This is by far the most satisfactory portion of the book. These chapters include a real discussion of the proletariat. The Labor Movement of the past generation is correctly analysed. The system of disgraceful craft divisions of the forces of labor is exposed. The hopelessness of pure and simpledom is described in uncompromising terms. These features of the American Federation of Labor are traced to capitalist influence and to the petty, ignorant selfishness of the "aristocrat of labor." Of craft unions the author says:

"Under the old guild system, when the economic condition was almost static, such distinctions might have survived and, as a matter of fact, did survive, but under the highly fluid state of labor in the present system, where the skilled labor of to-day becomes the unskilled of to-morrow, they are simply absurd. The result was that the old methods of the strike and the boycott were again and again resorted to and the working class was driven, by its method of fighting into minor disturbances and collisions in which they had only their bare hands to oppose the weapons of the military. The capitalist class was firmly entrenched in the economic position from which the forces of the trades union were unable to dislodge it and, in addition, the capitalist class possessed a weapon in politics of which it did not hesitate to make use and such advantages as the trades unions did attain were rendered practically valueless by means of a hired legislature and a dependent judiciary." (p. 136-7.)

In England, continues the author, pure and simpledom resulted from the fact of the disfranchisement of the workers. No such conditions obtaining in America, the adoption of the English system "threw away the advantage which the possession of the ballot gave him, and under the cry of 'no politics' bred in the unions a brood of the most loathsome and corrupt petty politicians." (p. 138-9.)

Under the caption, "The Period of Corruption" this most remarkable feature of the American Labor Movement is again touched upon: "The working class has so far produced few leaders worthy of the name, and such as have stood out for the rank and file have in many cases shamelessly and unconscionably abandoned their work and have accepted political perferment even if they have not taken actual money from the hands of the enemies of their class. The history of organized labor in the United States has so far, it must be confessed, shown little superiority to that of organized capitalism. It is in both cases a sordid and dreary tale, and, in the case of organized labor, is unrelieved to a dissappointing degree by the heroism and sentiment which have played such a conspicuous part in the labor movements of other countries. The cynicism of a civilization based on cash seems to have found its way into the bones of both capitalist and proletarian."

Refreshing indeed is this portion of a book published by a Socialist Party institution. Ex-Mayor Schmitz, Samuel Gompers and John Tobin merely cause us to execrate the capitalist unionism of which they are the ripe fruitage. It is when avowed Socialists, for position or votes or popularity, support a system of organization so criminal in character as the A. F. of L., that we feel disposed, after calm and scientific analysis of their make-up and activities, to characterize them as either stupidly ignorant or morally degenerate. The portion of "The Rise of the American Proletarian" to which we have just referred, possesses the strength to call all but the most unregenerate Socialist sinners to repentance. In fact, so wholesome an effect would most surely follow had the author's careful analysis of the A. F. of L. continued, while discussing the Socialist Party. The hitherto successful efforts of the A. F. of L. in controlling the Socialist Party organization should have been laid bare. However, the reviewer will be considerate. It is altogether likely that the incisive description of capitalist labor unonism above noted had exhausted the writer's powers, thus leaving him without sufficiently keen dialectics to undertake the climax of his narrative.

The cesspool of ordinary capitalist corruption, their regular purchasing of legislatures and courts and constant swindling of one another, is ably dealt with. The author's excellent command of English with his ability to generalize, combine to make this portion of his work readable and instructive.

But on the whole, Austin Lewis is capable of much better work than this volume indicates. As to facts, it contains nothing original. Not a single footnote directs us to the sources of information. And the first demand of the careful reader is to know "where he got his facts." Perhaps no American is better informed on the history of the International Socialist Movement than Austin Lewis. Nor do we know of anyone who can talk and write more delightfully when giving the Movement a setting in the depths of political science, philosophy, and European history. But the reader lays down his latest volume with the feeling that the author has applied his general political and economic concepts to information derived from a couple of college text books on American history.

This conclusion seems evident from the number of mistatements of fact which touch elbow through the narrative. Such, for instance, as "The English settlements, begun on the Atlantic Coast, had progressed until by ——— 1760, they had about 4,000,000 of people". (p. 72.) They had then, in reality, not more than 2,500,000.

Likewise, "Hon. Quincy Adams is perhaps the most prominent statesman from whom we can gather the feeling of the leading classes of the North during the early part of the century. This cold, calculating man could not be said, even by his most devoted adherents, to have been impressed with any great moral wrongs in slave-holding itself, as an institution,—" (p. 97.) Now, John Quincey Adams was not at all, especially during the second period of his career, an ordinary respectable American citizen. He was as uncompromising in spirit, as vehement in expression, as ardent in his devotion, to the anti-slavery cause, after that cause became a social movement, as Phillips or Garrison. The principle of the economic interpretation of history cannot be so mechanically applied as to exclude high ideals and devotion to duty as historic causes.

Once more: "The election of Lincoln signified the triumph of the manufacturers,—the defeat of agrarianism and the victory of commercialism." (p. 103.) Now, Seward was the nominee of the Eastern capitalist wing of the Republican party. Lincoln was the frontier farmer candidate of the farmer class. There were scores of farmers to each capitalist and so Lincoln won out. Of course it was the capitalists who finally gained complete ascendency through the war, but at first they were the hesitant element, fearing, of course loss of trade and high taxes.

Finally: "Lincoln had seen the growth of the great corporations during the war and had prophesied that the next trouble would arise in connection with this new phenomenon". (p. 114.) A Socialist leaflet published during the campaign of 1904 attributed some such statement to Lincoln, and it was widely parroted. But Lincoln was not the author, and I am very sure, emitted no such prophesy.

This book has been discussed at such length and so bluntly with a purpose in view. The hope is entertained that it will exert a deterrent influence on able and valuable comrades who are constantly tempted to write books on subjects to the study of which they cannot give adequate time.

Since the publication of the first edition of the "Laws of Hamurabi", many books have been written. But only a few are chosen by the careful seeker for knowledge. The history of the American proletariat is a subject at once so vast and so vastly important as to demand the preliminary co-operative labor of many competent specialists, and finally the insight and synthetic grasp of a master.

New York City.

THE RISE OF MERCANTILISM

CHARLES FOURIER'S BRILLIANT SATIRE ON THE ORIGIN OF POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE MERCHANT CLASS.

This is a subject worthy of an epic. Muse, recount to us the exploits of the audacious innovators who have vanquished our old and time-honored philosophy—of this new sect, the Economist, which, springing suddenly into existence, has dared to attack the revered dogmas of Greece and Rome.

The true models of virtue, the Cynics, the Stoics, all the illustrious lovers of poverty and mediocrity, have been discomfited and now cringe before the Economists, who combat in the cause of wealth and luxury. The divine Plato, the divine Seneca, are driven from their thrones. The black broth of the Spartans, the turnips of Cincinnatus, the rags of Diogenes—in fine, all the panaceas of the moralists—have become powerless, have all vanished before these impious innovators, who permit the love of splendor, luxury and the vile metals.

In vain have the Rousseaus and the Mablys courageously defended the honor of Greece and Rome. In vain have they preached to the nations the eternal truths of morality.

Useless appeal! Nothing has been able to resist the onset of the new doctrines. Our corrupted age breathes only of commercial treaties, balances of trade; dreams of nothing but dollars and cents. The Porch and the Lyceum are deserted for chambers of commerce and "associations of the friends of commerce."

In a word, the eruption of the Economists has been for the moral sciences but another day of Pharsalia, by which the wisdom of Athens and Rome and of all classical periods has suffered an irreparable defeat.

Humanly speaking, civilization has changed phase. It has changed to the phase by which the commercial spirit reigns in politics exclusively.

This change has grown out of the progress of the nautical art and colonial monopolies. The philosophers, who always support a social movement after it is accomplished, chimed in with the spirit of the age and as soon as they saw the commercial spirit dominant commenced to extol it. Thus originated the sect of political Economists, and with it the mercantile controversy.

How happens it that the philosophers have changed their opinions after so many centuries and now come to meddle in the questions of commerce, which was the object of their ancient disdain?

In classical antiquity they never ceased to ridicule it. Then all writers treated tradesmen with derision, and repeated, after the fashion of Horace, that the science of trade consisted in knowing that "A hundred francs at five per cent. yield just five francs!"

Still might it have been seen by the influence of Tyre and Carthage that the commercial power would one day over-master the agricultural power and control the destiny of the world.

But the event not having occured, it therefore never could occur! Such is the logic of civilized politics—it sees nothing but the past. Hence future generations will represent civilization with head reversed and looking backward.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the speculative sciences fostered the old prejudice that treated commerce with contempt.

Witness the spirit that reigned in France in 1788. Then collegians in their debates often sneered at their adversary, calling him the son of a tradesman, and it was a cruel insult. Such was the feeling in the provinces; the commercial spirit was confined to the seaports and large capitals, where resided the large bankers, merchants and stock jobbers.

It was not until some years after that the merchants were transformed into demigods, when the philosophic cabal enlisted openly on their side and lauded them to the skies, because they were useful in carrying out their designs.

Thus, in its origin, commerce was misunderstood and despised by the philosophers, who know so little about it at the present as to confound it with the useful profession of manufacturing. It failed to secure their homage until it had completely triumphed; then the orators celebrated the virtue of the merchants and ate their fine dinners. In a word, the philosophers only began to flatter commerce when it had obtained the vogue; before they did not think it worthy their attention. Spain, Portugal, Holland and England carried on their commercial monopolies for a long time without the philosophers either praising them or blaming them. Holland had succeeded in accumulating "an immense wealth" without any aid of the political economist, whose sect, in fact, had not been born when the Dutch had already piled up tons of gold.

The philosophers at that epoch were still employed in rummaging classical antiquity and mixing themselves up in religious quarrels.

At last they saw that the new commercial policy might furnish matter for new volumes of controversy and bring into vogue a new coterie; then it was that philosophy gave birth to the new sects of political economists, who, despite their recent origin, have already brought forth a goodly number of volumes, and promises to be more fecund than its predecessors.

According to the methods of the sophists, these newcomers have embroiled the subject as much as possible. Far from having discovered anything, they not yet know what they are treating of; for, in the most important questions of political economy, they confess that their science has no fixed principles. It gives no positive results, and it is hard to see of what use it is. But that is of no importance. Theories multiply, the presses groan, the books sell and the philosophic end is satisfied. We might ask of the economists whether it is their intention to multiply or to diminish social scourges—such, for instance, as the increase of taxes, the augmentation of armies, the encroachment of the parasitic classes, national debts, bankruptcies, etc. It is certain that none of these scourges ever increased so rapidly as since the birth of political economy. Would it not have been better if the science, as well as the evil, had made less progress?

What motives could have decided the philosophers, those vehement apostles of truth and honesty, to rally in the eighteenth century to the support of duplicity and fraud—that is, of commerce?

It is nothing but fraud and duplicity, with all their paraphernalia of monopoly, speculation, usury, bankruptcy and roguery of every description; but modern philosophy passes a sponge over all these scandalous abuses. Let us point out the causes of this effrontery, applying to these savants the analytic methods they pretend to apply to everything.

In deciding to preach up commerce they were swayed only by the influence of wealth. They were allured by the enormity and rapid accumulation of mercantile fortunes, the independence which attaches to the mercantile profession, which is at once the most free and the most favorable to personal ambition; the air of grand speculation given to manoeuvres which the merest dolt could conceive and direct at the end of a month; and, finally, by the luxury and display of wealthy speculators and stock jobbers, who often vie in magnificence with the grandees of the State. All the eclat dazzles the philosophers, who, after sleepless nights and countless schemes, succeed only in earning a few francs and obtaining a little humiliating patronage. At the sight of these commercial and financial Plutuses they become bewildered, and hesitated between sycophancy and censure. At last the weight of gold turned the scale, and they became finally the very humble servants of the mercantile class and the warm admirers of the commercial policy they had so much ridiculed.

But how could one help admiring these great operators, speculators, and stock jobbers, these men, who, according to Boileau, "Have for their only secret this refrain, that five and four make nine, take two and seven remain," and succeed with such science in securing palaces in cities which they entered barefooted.

We see them living in luxury and splendor by the side of our literary men, living in poverty and obscurity. A philosopher, admitted to the mansion of a stock jobber, finds himself seated at a table between a countess and an ambassador.

What course is one to take under such circumstances but to worship the saints of the day!

For nobody makes his way in civilization by proclaiming truths. And thus we see why the philosophers, although nourishing a secret hatred against commerce, have nevertheless bowed down before the golden calf, not daring to write a page without sounding the praises of "Commerce, the immense commerce."

And yet they had everything to gain by attacking it; for by denouncing the frauds and spoilations of commerce, which they secretly despise as much as commerce despises them, they might have gained their lost position and repaired their defects.

An analysis of commerce will show that the mercantile body is in civilization nothing but a horde of confederated pirates—a flock of vultures preying upon agriculture and manufactures, and plundering the social body in every possible way.

'This, be it understood, without criticising them individually. They are ignorant themselves of the pernicious character of their profession, and even if they were aware of it, how can one be blamed for being a spoilator in civilization, when this society is but a game between rogues and dupes.

WHY WOMEN SHOULD ORGANIZE

BY MARY SOLOMON.

When the question is put to us women, either by ourselves or by others, what are we? we can say: We are women, women wage workers; because there is more than one kind of woman now: there is the "society" woman and the working woman.

A woman wage worker is the woman of our time, who is forced by circumstances, not as of old to spin flax or wool for her household, take care of the children and have the father, brother, or husband do the work outside, and be supposed to support her; but who has now to go out to compete with her former supporters in order to earn a living for herself. Women now go out from the time they are fourteen and sixteen years old to work, because they can no longer be kept at home by their parents, who, from the time the little ones are able to walk, begin to hope that when they grow bigger and the "school trouble" is over, they will also go out to work and help them along the thorny path of life.

Women work in sweat shops. We can see them taking out work for night, after the day's work is done, and carrying on their heads bundles of unfinished clothes, bundles in comparison to which they are like babes. When the work comes home, all get down to do it; the mother, the eight, ten and twelve-year-old children, who are by law forbidden to work outside. Nevertheless, they are compelled to work inside in order to help the mother earn enough to pay, first, the rent for the two small dark rooms which must be the working, eating, and sleeping place for all; then, for the kerosene oil for lighting the room when at work; and, lastly, for the food, for replacing of the power lost by the day's and half night's work.

Women also must work for much less than men, because they are supposed to be inferior to men, need less and be satisfied with less than men. That this is untrue, that women are not inferior to men is proven by the fact that as soon as women are granted the same rights as men to colleges and universities all over, they have in proportion been as successful as men. As for the women working in factories, the fact that hundreds of men previously employed in certain industries were replaced by women competitors who worked at a lower price and ran the factory the same as before, for the benefit of the owner of it, who prefers woman labor to that of man because of the low prices women work for, and also for being unorganized, —this proves that women are able to do as much and more than men. For when the woman leaves the factory, she has all the house work to do and must continue working home till late at night.

The millinery, flower and clothing industries are run almost entirely by women. The manufacturers, in order to keep these women producing, and at the same time wholly dependent on them, have divided the work in "sections." There is the manufacturer in the centre, extending ropes with different names to the working woman. Each of the women, anxious to hold on to one, becomes a member of the section indicated by the rope she holds on to. The capitalist in the center can either pull in or extend these ropes of product how and when it is necessary for his own benefit, regardless of the injury done to the workers by displacement from work, or overwork.

Women, seeing the conditions they are in, begin to look for a remedy. They begin to read, think, get acquainted, and enthused with Socialism. Therein we find an answer to all these questions of to-day. We find that when at an early stage, the individual man, the head of the family, produced just as much of every thing as he and his family were able to consume. They produced their own furniture, clothes, and food. The women did their share of work and also consumed the product.

Later, when improvements were made in the tools of production, the people produced more than they could consume; and under feudalism, after they had paid what was due of them to the feudal lord, they still had some over; and this surplus, which was offered for sale, became a commodity. The implements and tools of production, being then poor and small, belonged to the individual producer who could use them at any time. With the introduction of machinery, individual production became impossible and instead we have social production. We can no longer produce a thing and know it to be our own work, but it has to go through many hands before it is finished.

The capitalists now come into existence. They appropriate all the inventions and improvements, and work upon the plan of knocking down the small producers, compelling them to submit themselves to the and become wage workers. The wage workers get enough to keep them in working order. What they produced before with little or no machinery was enough to support themselves to them and become wage workers, under the wage system is more than doubled by the inventions of modern machinery, but can no longer go to their wives and children. Instead, it becomes the profit of the owner of the machinery, of the capitalist class. Hence arise female and child labor.

Once aware of the fact that Socialism is not a discovery or an idealistic desire of one or a few persons, but that it is inevitable, being the issue of the struggle between the capitalist and the working classes, we workers must organize and be prepared for the time when capitalism is no more. We must prepare to take what of right should have always belonged to the producers of wealth, the land, the railroads, the mines and factories and machines, and all the means of production and place them in collective ownership for the benefit of all. Women, being the most miserable sufferers and victims of the system of private ownership, must, when once aware of the remedy for the system, organize and induce others to do the same. They must take interest in the movement that will not only bring about the emancipation of women, but will bring about the emancipation of the whole human race.

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Whoso says "Investigate" says "Revolt."—BALZAC.

TWO "COMMON LOTS."

If any there be who imagine Mark Twain has a monopoly of humor, he is mistaken. Goldwin Smith has his own good share of the commodity. Invited by the "Daily Herald" of Stratford, Canada, to give his opinion upon the "present labor situation" (which seems to be a burning affair in Canada also) the gentleman consented, and the "Daily Herald" of June 22 publishes his "wise remarks"—it should rather have said "droll remarks."

Among the lot of drolleries, announced as "wise remarks," Goldwin Smith says: "Just now prices have risen, reducing the purchasing power of the wage"—so far so good; but listen to the rest of the sentence—"THOUGH THIS HAS AFFECTED NOT ONLY THE ARTISAN, BUT ALL ALIKE, AND NO PARTICULAR CALLING CAN CLAIM EXEMPTION FROM THE COMMON LOT."

One can hear, without much straining of the ear, the roars of happy laughter, and loud, long and prolonged applause with which the raisers of prices must have greeted the joke of theirs being the "common lot."

Beginning with that most ominous of the necessaries of life, housing—the landlord, no doubt, shares the "common lot" of having to pay higher prices for bread, sugar and meat, etc. But the "commonness" of his "lot" is fully assuaged by the higher rent which he extracts from the seller of bread, the seller of sugar, the seller of meat, etc.

The seller of bread, no doubt, shares the "common lot" of having to pay higher prices for rent, sugar and meat, etc. But the "commonness' of his "lot" is equally assuaged by the higher price he demands and gets for his bread from the landlord, the seller of sugar, the seller of meat, etc.

The seller of sugar, no doubt, shares the "common lot" of having to pay higher prices for rent,, bread, and meat, etc. But the "commonness" of his "lot" is assuaged in even/tempo by the higher price he demands and gets for his sugar from the landlord, from the seller of bread, the seller of meat, etc.

The seller of meat, no doubt, shares the "common lot" of having to pay higher prices for rent, bread, and sugar, etc. But the "commonness" of his "lot" is, as in the previous instances, fully atoned for by the higher price he demands and gets for his meat from the landlord, the seller of bread, the seller of sugar, etc.

In short, the tryingness of the "common lot" of the landlord, the seller of bread, the seller of sugar, the seller of meat, etc., is purely imaginary. They each pay higher prices for the goods they buy, but they instantaneously recoup themselves by returning the compliment on other traders.

How is it with the workingman? He also has a commodity to sell—labor power. Can he recoup himself by demanding a higher price for his merchandise? He can not. Rent, bread, sugar, meat, etc., did not go up because of either an increased demand or decreased supply: as to the demand it remained what it was, as to the supply it rather increased. Rent, bread, sugar, meat, etc., went up due to the combined causes of monopoly, and of increased productivity of gold, that reduced the exchange value of money. With the commodity labor power things stand differently:

First, there can be no thought of the Working Class "monopolizing" labor power: the day the Working Class will be so organized that it could play that trick, that day the trick becomes useless; that day the Working Class will play its trump card, it will cease to be merchandise, it will overthrow the capitalist system.

Second, the supply of labor power in the labor market is ever on the increase and thereby ever lowers the price of labor power.

Accordingly, higher prices, or a decreased purchasing power of the wage, leaves the workingman in practical helplessness. He may strike: in 9 cases out of 10 he will lose his strike; in the 1 case out of 10 that he does not lose outright his gains never bring him up to the height reached by the risen prices. Higher prices are a plague for which there is no recoupment for the workingman in present day American capitalism. To him the alternative is—bend lower under a heavier burden, or organize industrially and overthrow the capitalist system.

Obviously, there are two distinct "common lots"—one the "common lot" of the capitalists, the other the "common lot" of the wage slaves. Exquisite is the Goldwinian drollery that the identical lot is common to both sets.

INCAUTIOUS G. A. R. OFFICER.

What with the increasing niggardliness with which appropriations for pensioning veterans are being made and then vetoed, and what with the increased difficulties for earning a living, an officer of the Grand Army of the Republic recently said: "I would not be surprised if the old soldiers should head a movement for pensions, and INSIST THAT THE MONEY BE FOUND."—This is an incautious remark. If a Haywood prosecution should hear that, it may make the statement the basis for an indictment and trial on the charge of "armed rebellion."

Incautious though the remark of the G. A. R. officer was, it nevertheless is testimony, valuable testimony.

The talk about "prosperity" has subsided considerably. The "prosperity" so much heard about in recent years was, to be sure, the condition of the sponging class, technically called capitalists. The sponging being fat, there was prosperity for the spongers. Such prosperity implies suffering on the part of the spongees, technically called working class. Nevertheless there is a certain illusion and delusion in work. A man at work, though he be sponged upon unmercifully, feels mentally happier than if he had to hit the road for a job. Such are the conditions created by capitalism that the workingman actually imagines he is sharing prosperity if he but have work, though his lifeblood be expended thereat for a pittance that falls far behind his recuperative powers. So that so long as the spongers had a plentiful sponging the talk about "prosperity" was not wholly discounted by the workers. Now, however, the spongers are less "prosperous," that is, these spongings have declined. Under such circumstances even the illusion and delusion of "prosperity" to the spongees are about to suffer. That is testimony No. 1 given by the G. A. R. officer quoted above.

The veterans could formerly get along with a $10 or $5 alms as pension. They could get some other work. The delusion of "prosperity" being on the wane, they are becoming desperate. Their desperation is voiced by their officers. This is testimony No. 2.

The suggestion that "old soldiers" may "head a movement" whereby to "insist that the money be found" to pay them pensions suggests an armed "insistance."

Incautious G. A. R. officer!

AN OPEN LETTER.

Edward Lauterbach,
President National Liberal Immigration League,
150 Nassau St.,
New York.

Sir:—

We have and hereby answer your letter stating the purposes of your organization and requesting the co-operation of this paper.

You say your organization lays stress "on raising the standard of citizenship." In the very next paragraph this sentence occurs: "We welcome immigrants to pave our streets, build railroads and dig subways. We welcome even more willingly the illiterates, as they are more fitted to do hard work." Are not the two sentences contradictory? Do they not kick each other to pieces?

The immigrants whom the country receives the country should be anxious to see graduate into fit citizenship. An illiterate starts hampered towards that goal. If, then, besides such initial difficulty in the immigrants' path towards American citizenship, the uses you intend him for are the uses of "hard work"—paving streets, building railroads, digging subways—it follows that the date of his graduation into American citizenship is intended to be indefinitely postponed, if not altogether shut off. The scanty wages and the conditions under which "hard work" is done, and the "hard worker" is forced to live, leave no opportunity except for some exceptionally vigorous mind and body to pull out of the ditch. It follows, finally, that the purpose of your "Liberal" organization is to flood the country with a mass of labor, the misfortune of whose initial illiteracy is to be exploited, aggravated and confirmed so as to prevent them from ever having a word to say over the social-political conditions in which they toil. The establishment of such a herd of human brutes, and the keeping of them down in that low social layer, can only have the effect of dragging down the layers above. The elimination of skill in improved machinery—a blessing if the machine were owned by the workers—is a sufficient curse now that the machine is owned by the idlers: the elimination of skill in privately owned improved machinery would help to feed the social human corral that you contemplate setting up. Did you ever hear of a "high standard of citizenship" in a nation whose economic structure is deliberately planted upon the backs of a mass of "hard workers," and is calculated ever to thin out into a tapering point the beneficiary class of such a scheme? Sir, your organization will not, cannot, promote a "higher standard of citizenship"—no more than chattel slavery, which degraded both the slave and slave-holder.

Sir, you are a member of the Society for Ethical Culture—a leading member, we are told. Is such a scheme compatible with ethics? Or, is such a scheme the product of the ethical culture instilled by your society?

Sir, we must, with all the emphasis that politeness allows, decline to lend the co-operation of the organ of the Socialist Labor Party to a movement the purpose and effect of which is repellant to good civic morals.

—ED. THE PEOPLE.

LIBELING THEIR ANCESTRY.

The representatives of the mailed fist of the world who have been rioting at the Hague in windy phrases about peace did not seem satisfied with playing a comedy: they had to go so far as to libel their ancestry. They placed the demand for the arbitration of international disputes upon the ground of "modern civilization." In other words, their ancestry were not civilized; not being civilized they knew nothing about arbitration—which is just so much nonsense. No less a worthy than Edward I of England bowed reverently (hand on sword hilt) before "Arbitration"; "Arbitration" was more than once exalted in the rough-and-tumble days of the German robber barons; it was at the shrine of "Arbitration" that the turbulent feudal lords of France quite often meekly prayed (in war panoply) before they were curbed by Louis the XII. And now that the hitherto sealed book of Japanese history is being unsealed and is becoming popular, "Arbitration" is found to have been no unknown humbug to the Samurai and their liege lords. "Arbitration" may take its place on the long list of things cited as evidence of there being nothing new under the sun.

But why the comedy, why the libel?—It is a safe conclusion that where false pretence has to be resorted to in the upholding of noble principle, then the nobility of the purpose is mere affectation. The nobility of the language in favor of peace was declamation, a comedy necessary to conceal facts; the libel of ancestry was also necessary for stage effect.

It remains an undeniable Socialist principle that external peace can not be stable where internal war is the social principle. Capitalist society is builded upon internal war—war between capitalist and capitalist, war between capitalists, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other. It remains an undeniable Socialist principle that the affinity between capitalists of several countries spreads over the capitalist world the state of war that prevails in each separate country among its own capitalists. As capitalists are in one another's hair at home, they are at one another's throats internationally. There being, at home, the organized physical force, established by themselves, to keep them from physically disemboweling one another, their conflicts preserve their original character of a purely economical battle—a battle, however, that often costs life through ruin; a battle, moreover, that off and on breaks out into actual civil war. There being no such organized international physical force to keep the capitalist conflict exclusively upon the economic field, and no such international physical force organization being, in the very nature of things, possible, the consequence is inevitable—INEVITABLE WAR.

No amount of comedy, no amount of libeling their ancestry, can change the sociologic fact. "Arbitration" on the lips of the capitalist class is a humbug handed down from generation to generation from ruling class to ruling class. The day when Arbitration will not be humbug, that day it will no longer be needed. That day will see the international flag of Socialism waving over the ruins of Capitalism, and binding humanity wth the bonds of co-operation.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

CONVERSATION No. 6

[Under this head will be reproduced a series of conversations that were either listened to or partaken in by the editor of The People in the company of the capitalist passengers, whom he met in the Pulmans in the course of his recent extensive tour in the West.]

A little over a month after the conversation, recorded last week in The People, took place on the train from Los Angeles to San Francisco, the almost empty Pullman car that left New Orleans on the morning of May 13th for Evansville, Ind., was boarded at Birmingham, Ala., by three drummers, who incontinently continued in the smoker the conversation which they evidently had started while waiting for the train. The conversation was on the subject of the Negro, his capacities as worker, and the status that should be his.

Two of the drummers were Southerners; the third was a Michigan man. All three traveled for some kind of hardware firm or firms. It leaked out that the Michigander was a college man; one of the Southerners had "tried Anapolis" but could not "stand it." The antecedents of the other did not leak out.

"The South is not meant for White labor," observed the ex-Anapolisian. "We are here in the Black Belt of the South. This is the most prosperous section of the South. And we keep the Nigger down where he belongs."

The Michigander put in: "The South is not understood in the North. We hear up there a whole lot of sentimental gush about the Negro. I see how it is down here. Our northern papers seem to toady after the Negro vote. I guess Tillman is right about that."

"The North will find out what is what, soon enough," was the ex-Anapolisian's opinion. "You are having more and more trouble with your workingmen——"

"Those Dagos," put in the other Southerner, " are no better than Niggers—the Italians, the Dutch, the Jews, the Hungarians, all of them must be kept down together. They are good workingmen, but bad citizens."

"I have been South and I have been North," further observed the ex-Anapolisian with his assumption of military airs, "and my observation is that the North will have to follow the pace set by the South. What people call the Negro Question is not a Negro question at all—IT IS THE LABOR QUESTION." At this point the S. L. P. man who happened to be present looked in the direction of the speaker's pockets. It was an involuntay motion. The utterance: "What is called the Negro Question is not a Negro question at all, it is the Labor Question" sounded so much like S. L. P. principle, that the S. L. P. man expected to see a copy of The People sticking out of that Southerner's pocket. Of course, there was none such. He went on to say: "The place of the workingman is the field or the factory. He has no time to inform himself on matters of national policy. If he gets a smattering of that it puffs him up. Then a lot of scheming politicians get around him. That settles him. A good workingman is destroyed to make a bad citizen. There is where the Anarchists and Socialists recruit their forces from."

"It was that way in Newport News a short while ago. So long as the men were kept working all was well. In came a man who talked politics. From that time all went wrong. The Negroes and the Whites were changed alike," was the experience furnished by the other Southerner.

The Michigander nodded assent and added: "The Negro Question is not understood in the North."

"We here in the Black Belt have solved the problem. The Nigger is a workingman, the Dago is a workingman. They are both alike. Give them the ballot? You might as well give the ballot to so many razer-back hogs. Sentiment should cut no figure when it comes to the saving of the country. The Constitution must be changed; the workingman must be taught to keep to his station."

"But how if it should happen, as I think it happens at least 'once in a while,' that the workingman is neither 'Dago' nor 'Nigger,' but a full blooded native American?" courteously put in the S. L. P. man who happened to be present.

Almost in chorus the two Southerners answered: "He is a workingman, that's enough."

"That's enough," echoed the Michigander.

The S. L. P. man present thought so too—the common status of WORKINGMAN makes "Nigger," "Dago" and "American" one family, one brotherhood, ONE CLASS.

"The Sun" is disgusted with the personnel of the new utilities boards. Which would indicate that Harriman has beaten Ryan, the owner of "The Sun," again.

COGENT REASDNS WHY WORKERS SHOULD SUPPORT INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

BY ALBERT RYAN IN THE GRAHA M COUNTY (ARIZONA) ADVOCATE.

The strikes of the past have taught us the valuable lesson that the capitalist class fights as a whole, and wins, while the working class fights craft by craft and union by union, and loses. Owing to such tactics the quartz miners lost at Cripple Creek, the coal miners at Trinidad, the machinists on the Santa Fe; the telegraphers on the Great Northen, Northern Pacific and Missouri, Kansas and Texas railroads; the garment workers, teamsters and butcher workmen in Chicago. In fact, this policy was a factor in the defeat of the striking working class in every conflict with capitalism. So confident were the employers of success on account of this weakness that they have actually provoked strikes in order to secure the opportunity to crush the rising spirit of the workers.

At the present writing we find the president of the Building Trades Council of San Francisco organizing a scab union of electricians to work at $5.00 per day and take the places of the members of Electrical Workers' Union No. 6, who have been receiving a minimum wage of $6.00 per day.

Also in Bisbee, Arizona, do we find the mine employes on strike against the blacklist and discrimination by the companies against members of the Western Federation of Miners. While the prospects are that the strike will be won, it will be in spite of the aristocratic hoisting engineers and others. This does not apply to the members of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Shipbuilders, who have showed their sense of class solidarity by immediately dropping their tools and refusing to work while a strike was on.

The pure-and-simple unions advocate and put into effect a system of high initiation fees (as high, in some instances, as $500) whereby the membership in their locals can be limited to the number of jobs, thus creating a job trust, a vicious principle which places the worker without means in opposition to his fellows, as well as often compelling him to scab against his will, and making possible in many instances, the very "open shop" against which those unions rail. It is an established fact that many unions even compel their members to pay the difference between the cost of membership in the local to which they belong and the higher fee in the one into whose jurisdiction they are compelled transfer in order to secure employment at their trade. There is abundant proof that in many instances, this arrangement for the limitation of the number of qualified applicants for jobs leads to an entente cordiale between the employers and the officers of th union whereby the latter furnish men from their unions to fill vacancies on request of the employers, and are thus in a position to reward those of their followers who are in accord with their policies and to exclude from employment any who should dare to remonstrate against their methods or tactics.

While such tactics tend to the aggrandizement of the labor officials, to limit the number of employed, to increase the number of the unemployed, and to pit both of the latter against each other in the mad scramble for a living, they pall into insignificance, so far as disastrous consequences are concerned, compared with the infamous "contract system" under which each craft, through its executive officers makes a separate contract with the employer specifying certain wages and conditions of labor for a stated length of time, such contracts in all cases being so arranged that no two expire at the same time, thus putting the master in the position of dealing with each craft separately when the question of renewal comes up for consideration. There is a decided advantage for the master in this arrangement, as it enables him to compel one set of workers to remain at work while another strikes for better conditions—and loses. Strike-Breaker Farley's trained army of scabs is no greater menace to the working class than a body of so-called "union" men who tolerate a form of organization which compels them to work while their fellows are on strike. Of the two, it can be safely said that Farley could not muster as large a force to break a strike as the labor leaders now have already organized in the capitalist unions bound by the sacred contract.

Were these and many other features of pure and simple unionism eliminated, this form of organization would yet be futile to advance the interests of the working class. Increase of wages is a fiction while the master class owns the machinery of production and the sources of wealth. It is a matter of small difference to them what they give the producing class in the form of wages so long as they have the economic power to increase the cost of necessaries of life.

Reduced hours of labor, under capitalist society, will never be commensurate with the increased productivity of the workers due to improved methods of production and the intensification of labor. Under no circumstances can any organization further the interests of the workers which accept the wage system as a finality. The pure and simple form of unionism might abolish the contract system, reduce dues to zero, ignore craft and trade divisions, and organize the working class to strike as a unit when necessary, and then it would be as wholly and completely a failure as it is to-day. This may seem paradoxical, yet the explanation is simple. The pure and simple union believes in the identity of interests between the capitalist master and the wage slave. Its resultant effect is to make wage slavery more comfortable. When it strikes, on account of its peculiar belief in "harmony of interests," it does so with the implied concession on its part of leaving the master in undisturbed possession of the machinery, thus leaving him in undisputed ownership of the economic power which gives him the "right" to exploit.

The Industrial Workers of the World is the very antithesis of pure and simple unionism, its form of organization, its basic principles and its ultimate object. It is based on the class struggle, it denies the theory of identity of interest between the capitalist exploiter and the wage-worker, and stands, not for increase of wages, but for the full product of the worker's labor. It maintains that the working class can secure its emancipation only by a thorough organization on the industrial field by which we will strike if necessary, not as units but en masse and wring from the present possessing class the ownership of the industries which we now collectively operate, and TAKE AND HOLD those industries, thus securing to ourselves the full product of our labor, and through this ownership will administer the industries for the workers, not for the parasites, who will be dispossessed.

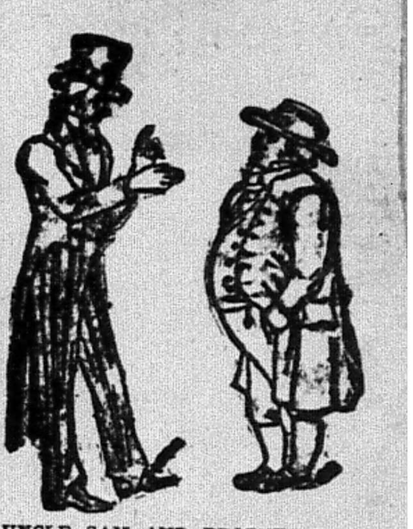
To the industrial unionist the strike has a significance which bodes ill to the capitalist class. To him a victorious strike means a mere skirmish with the master which will spur him on and intensify his demand for all that he is being exploited out of; to the pure and simple unionist it means arrival at a stage where he can be content with the little that he has gained.

The industrial unionist will organize the working class in National Industrial Unions and at the same time will so educate the members that, when the final conflict with capitalism shall take place, instead of striking and leaving the master in possession, they will ignore his ownership, and continue production, not for him but for THEMSELVES.

The industrial unionist stand first, last and all the time for the proletariat. He is jealous of his cause, which to him is sacred. He will have none with him but the wage-worker and will tolerate neither the fakir, the intellectual nor the middle-class man. He rightly contends that the working class, imbued with its rapidly growing consciousness and sense of world-wide solidarity, is capable of doing its own business and working out its own destiny. At the first convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, at Chicago, in 1905, an excellent illustration of this sprit was given in the immediate expulsion of the intellectuals; and, at the second convention, the organization purged itself, in short order, of the fakirs and other misleaders who had fastened themselves on the organization.

The Industrial Workers of the World invites to its ranks all members of the working class, regardless of craft, creed or race. To them the interest of the humbiest and least-paid members of our class will be of as much concern as those of the best-paid artisan. We will bring the one to the level of the other and will march shoulder to shoulder to our goal—the complete surrender of the capitalist class, and the co-operative commonwealth.

So then, several of the directors of the Boston & Maine R. R. are resigning in obedience to the Anti-Merger Law. We learn nothing about their ridding themselves of their merger stock.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN (shaking his head dolefully and sighing to match)—'Tis sad, 'tis sad!

UNCLE SAM—Has the pest broken out among your friends and carried them all off?

B. J.—That would be sad enough; but what I sigh over is, meseems, sadder still. (More sighs).

U. S.—Tell me all about it, old boy; I may be able to give you consolation.

B. J. (looking enraged)—YOU? Consolation from YOU? Why, you are the worst of the lot.

U. S.—Come! Come!!

B. J.—I'll show you. I have just seen The People. In it are these words: "Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

U. S.—Isn't that all right?

B. J.—I should say it WAS all right but not in a Socialist Labor Party paper.

U. S.—Hey!?!

B. J. (angry)—No; not in an S. L. P. paper! You Socialists don't act as if you want to unite the workingmen. You fight everything. One set of workingmen want free trade, and, hang you, you have to quarrel with them; another set expresses itself in favor of protection, and you fall like a pile of bricks on them. (Angrier) If other honest workers set up a party for Municipal Ownership there you are jumping on 'em. (Still angrier). If some good intentioned people organize an "Armory Party," why, you begin to throw mud at them. You wont go together with anybody, and you try to smash up everything. You call that "uniting" the working class?

U. S.—What's the matter with you is that you can't read English.

B. J.— I can't? Can't I?

U. S.—Exactly. You don't know what "unite" means.

B. J.—I don't? It means to bring together.

U. S.—And you understand by the command to bring the workingmen together that they CAN be brought and kept together on any issue?

B. J.—Why, certainly, simply bring them together.

U. S.—See here. You are quite a shot, I know.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Now, if you set a platoon of soldiers aiming at a target, which are the shots that will come together?

B. J.—Those that hit the bull's eye.

U. S.—Just so. And what shots will hit the bull's eye?

B. J.—Those that are aimed correctly.

U. S.—Correct! If you want to have a lot of bullets fall together, they must be shot correctly. If so shot, they hit the same mark; if not correctly shot they will fall apart. Accident may bring one, or two, or a few more together, but those will fall apart from the bulk, and the bulk of them will fall apart from one another. Bull's eye is one spot, there the correctly shot ones unite; the whole immensity of space is there for the others and there will be as many spots hit by them as there are sufficient spots in space. So with men. To come together, to be united, they must unite on what is right and correct. There is but one correct thing on which to unite. On an incorrect thing there is no unity possible, because the incorrect things are as numerous as the spots in space that wrongly aimed bullets may hit. Furthermore, to "come together" is of no use unless one can "keep together." Error is so numerous that unity upon it is absurd. When, therefore, the Socialist Labor Party calls upon the workingmen to unite it cannot mean that they should come together on error. Socialists know that enough men cannot unite on an error, let alone stay together. THE great scatterer of the workingman is, therefore, not the S. L. P. man who points out the right point and methods; the scatterer is he who fails to learn "how to shoot," who interferes with those who are teaching this art, and who howls "unite," "unite," while he is, in fact, knowingly and unknowingly, keeping the people apart. Now, my man, that's all there is about it. You are misaddressing your sighs.

War experts at The Hague, squabbling over the comparative cruelties of different style bullets, is one of those anomalies of capitalism which would be ludicrous were they not so painful.

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

CAN'T WAIT FOR BOISE NEWS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Send me the Daily People for three months. I can't wait for the Weekly to get the news from Boise, and the capitalist dalies are slurring, or omitting, the Boise news, now that the defense is having its innings. Hence I must have the Daily People.

F. C. B.

Mineral City, O., June 28.

FROM THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The International Socialist Bureau will shortly publish in two volumes the reports of the various affiliated Parties on their activities since the Congress at Amsterdam in 1904; also a third volume containing the explanatory reports on the questions to come up at the Stuttgart Congress.

The first volume, to appear about July 1, will contain the reports to the Stuttgart Congress of the Socialist organizations of the United States, Canada, Chili, Bolivia, Argentine, Australia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy Spain, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Holland, Bohemia, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Servia, and some others, on their activity since the Amsterdam Congress, with a preface by Emil Vandervelde.

This volume, issued in French, containing nearly 500 pages, can be procured from the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, Maison du Peuple, Brussels; price 50 cents each.

Volume II, which will appear in the latter part of July, contains the reports of the Socialist Parties of Russia, including the Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionists, the Bund, Lettish Social Democracy, Georgian Socialists, Armenian Social Democrats, Socialist Party of Poland, Social Democracy of Finland, and the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania; also the reports from Austria, Hungary, Rumania, Japan, and a few others; with a final note by the Secretary of the International bureau at the above address. Price, 500 pages, 50 cents.

The third volume, which will not come out till August, contains the explanatory texts on the matters and resolutions submitted to the Stuttgart Congress—August 18-24—by the affiliated Parties. Notable among them are the questions of militarism, international conflicts, the colonial question, working class immigration, woman suffrage, and the relations between the Parties and the trades unions This volume, in three languages, 250 pages, can be had for 40 cents at the above address.

For the International Socialist Bureau,

Camille Huysmans, Sec'y.

NOT "TOO HOT" FOR THIS PROPAGANDIST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I enclose $2.50 for five yearly Weekly People subs, the result of my first week's effort at sub getting. I believe that The People is the only paper that represents the working class, and I believe it is the duty of every true Socialist to spread the light by getting as many subscribers as possible.

Yours for the S. L. P. and I. W. W.

J. Reibel.

Birmingham, Ala., June 26.

ACTIONS THAT SPEAK LOUDER THAN WORDS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We note in the report of the doings of the Western Federation of Miners that Extra Meals Sherman attempted in his report to gain the sympathies and support of that organization by asserting that certain S. L. P. delegates had declared "to hell with Moyer and Haywood, to hell with Debs," the intention being of course, to connect the idea that the S. L. P. were not sincere in their support of our imprisoned fellow-workers. It is a familiar saying that actions speak louder than words. We now make the claim that the S. L. P. fired the first shot of protest in defense of our persecuted brothers. They were kidnapped Saturday night. The newspapers gave the news Sunday morning, worded of course to justify and palliate the dastardly outrage. In the afternoon Section Kansas City met and a resolution was presented by our organizer condemning the outrage. It was unanimously adopted and mailed to our press appearing, we think, in Tuesday's edition following. This, of course, was followed by like resolutions from all parts of the country, but there is no record that any other organization took more prompt action.

Section Kansas City then initiated a move to have a general protest meeting. We invited all progressive organizations to send representatives to make arrangements and furnish speakers. The result was that we had a rousing meeting and sent a goodly sum of money to the defense fund. The Socialist party took part, but it is well to record that many of their members did not approve of it, one of their leaders asserting that they Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, might be guilty and if they were they ought to be hung.

Last year the S. P. took the initiative for a like meeting but instead of inviting other organizations to participate they sent out invitations for them to "send representatives to report the meeting!" They would show their zeal and the glory would be entirely to their "party." Result—a flat failure, financially, not enough being raised to pay expenses.

Who is sincere and who is on the firing line?

Press Committee S. L. P.

Kansas City, Missouri, June 25.

HE WANTS TO KNOW.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I was in the Telegraphers' strike of 1882. Now I want to know what the Railroad Telegraphers are doing in regard to the San Francisco strike. If they are receiving and delivering messages from the main office, the Order of Railroad Telegraphers are scabbing it on their Commercial craftsmen.

Now that the Standard Oil have got control of the B. & M. R. R. we will witness in the course of a short time, a cutting out of Telegraph offices here and there over the entire system of connections, and business on the railroad is not at all as brisk as it was a year ago, and this cutting out will happen in the train service between the two great systems.

Yours Fraternally

Telegrapher.

Providence, R. I., June 27.

HE THINKS HE HEARD THINGS WORTH HEARING.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—After reading Hershmann's letter complaining of the lack of information given at the meeting held June 26 at Arlington Hall, it would be no improper conclusion to say Hershmann might as well have remained at home and raised his objections. If the comrade comes to hear a talk on "My Western Tour" and expects to hear a talk on the Woman Question, the Negro Problem, or Airships, or even on Surplus Value, Economic Interpretation, or Individualism, it surely is no fault of the Section nor of the speaker that that comrade is disappointed. If "My Western Tour" dealt with the western tour it certainly is in order for Hershmann to point out where De Leon wandered off the subject.

As to picking out the remarks of water selling for $8 a barrel, it might justly be said that it seeks to imply that only such inconsequent matter characterized the substance of the speaker's remarks, an implication that is false.

The meeting in question was not an agitational meeting, it certainly was not advertised as such; the subject itself ought to have sufficiently explained the nature of the speech, and party members not only have expected to hear the kind of talk that they did hear, but also desired to listen to what De Leon would tell of his trip. For myself it was information to learn of the hopeful material west of the Mississippi, of the attitude of that S. P. membership who intend to make an effort to cleanse their party in their next national convention. It was news to learn how the men, St. John, Jurgens, and others, have to go about "bleak Nevada" prepared for snares, traps, and kidnapping—They are not having a picnic out there—and we'll not be having a picnic here in the east when things come to such a pass.

De Leon's experience with readers of the Daily People was no less worthy of note; and the point which he scored was timely and deserving attention. S. L. P. speakers, especially, cannot be too fully posted, but this holds good with members who are not speakers. De Leon told of how he had long ago divided the workingmen into two categories those who are to be taught by the eye and those who are to be taught by the ear. Elaborating this point the speaker said that the largest number of workingmen are too fatigued to read a long article in a paper after having done a day's work. It therefore devolves upon the others in the movement to take up the more lengthy articles, because the questions require a certain amount of length for proper treatment, and present those things to the outsiders for argument and conversion. This idea coupled with that other test which De Leon made of examining his audiences to see whether they desired to be entertained by jokes and stories rather than solid argument, and finding that argument was the demand of the sufficiently large working class minority,—this is a point worth always remembering, and if borne in mind will prevent men from despairing of the struggle. Our efforts often seem to be made in vain because we do not see huge results; our meetings seem to be smaller than the meetings of other parties, but measured by the lasting influences which they are bound to create the results are far more beneficial. There are a certain number of people whom we can reach, the number is small, comparatively, but their strength when gotten together will be far more reaching. However, it is not my intention to argue the question here, but dwelling so much on this point could not be helped. The point is an important one, and worth having heard made.

I did not go to the meeting expecting to listen to one of De Leon's striking comparisons of an event in biology with an instance in sociology, and therefore cannot say it contained new information on that head, but as a talk on his recent trip I believe the subject was lived up to.

Edmund Seidel.

N. Y. July 2, 1907.

GOOD FOR SEATTLE!

To the Daily and Weekly People:—During the last month The People and the I. W. W. Bulletin have been sold on the streets. The first week we sold 100 Bulletins and 250 People; last week 850 People, 100 Bulletins or all together for the past four weeks, 2,100 papers. How is that for getting working class papers in the workers' hands?

The A. F. of L. Newsboys' Union put the boycott on us. With all their boycotts, we sold the papers. The Newsboys' Union is not for the newsboys, but for the paper; it is an out and out capitalist organization.

All the capitalist papers of Seattle lie about Haywood.

Yours for the Party,
Wm. Redman, President.
H. Warner,
P. O'Hanrahan.

Seattle, Wash., June 25.

P. S.—You will hear from us again.

TRITURATING A SLANDERER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the New York "Worker" of recent date appeared an article from the pen of Mr. Benjamin Hanford. It is important from the fact, that, if carefully weighed by the wage worker, the methods that have been used for the past ten years by a certain element in the labor movement of America are shown up in all their ugliness.

The article referred to starts out with the proposition, "How many angels can dance on the point of a needle" and from the nonsensical conundrum the inference is sought to be conveyed that the S. L. P., through its official voice, De Leon, seeks to bring everyone who is "active" in the labor movement to a too strict accounting of their actions. Now let us formulate another proposition that shall entitle the Hanfords et al. to a strict connection with it, for instance, "How to kill a man's activities in the labor movement without taking his life away." It will be very easy to show through the above named article that the Hanfords believe that a propaganda of slander and cowardly insinuation will serve the purpose they have in view.

The article first states that it is inconceivable how any man can be a believer in De Leon. He must be a fool. If Hanford proves his case, fools a great number are, but it remains to look at his case before coming to a proper conclusion.

The second statement is that De Leon's purpose is to disrupt the labor movement, economic and political. Hanford is lacking in facts to back up this bold assertion; it cannot be taken as a foregone conclusion because he is Mr. Benjamin Hanford. Assertion No. 1, asking ouselves the question, Has De Leon disrupted the Brewery Workers, Has De Leon disrupted the A. F. of L. into craft unions which war one upon the other? Did De Leon cause the Franklin Pressmen's Union to issue a circular with the union label upon it calling upon all its members to stand by the bosses in the printers struggle for the eight-hour day! Did De Leon cause the injunction in Chicago against union men to have the union label upon it? Does De Leon cause the A. F. of L. conventions to end in disruption? Does the exposing of grafters and misleaders such as Powderly, Gompers, Mitchell, McConnell, (this last chicken has just come home to roost) and Sherman constitute disruption? If so all honor to De Leon.

De Leon does not seek to disrupt the labor movement. The "organized labor" the Hanfords have referred to, is, and well Mr. Benjamin Hanford knows it, already a mass of disruption and corruption. De Leon is an upholder of industrial unionism which seeks to unite the wage workers in one solid front against the common enemy, the capitalist class. He points out to the rank and file of the craft unions the utter helplessness of the craft form of organization against the changed economic conditions of our time. He exposes to the eyes of the rank and file the perfidy of their leaders, and the exposures are backed up with facts at all times; and in the face of all this, Mr. Benjamin Hanford sneakingly, contemptibly, in that peculiar insinuating way that denotes the coward, he does not come out and boldly state, as various of his "comrades" have done that De Leon is a capitalist spy; no, like a yellow dog, he "supposes that if the capitalist class had an agent and emissary in the position of leadership in the Socialist Labor Party, in the position that De Leon occupies, what would those capitalists have their agent do." His answer is—disrupt the unions.

Mr. Benjamin Hanford, you stand for the disconnected, hand them over in detachments, form of craft unionism, and taking your own line of reasoning you are the capitalist agent. You are the man who "like your master's ass gets nought but provender," while your close relation to Mr James Farley demands a retainer of say $10,000. You are the one who through your staunch championship of pure and simple antiquated weapons costs not as you assert, hundreds of millions of dollars, but saves that to the master whom you so diligently serve. De Leon stands for unity of action among the wage workers, you and yours, Mr. Hanford, stand for disruption.

You insinuate that the W. F. of M. is the next prey to the disruption tactics of De Leon. Where are your facts, Mr. Benjamin Hanford? Can you state the facts of the last convention of the I. W. W. and then, like an honest man, say that De Leon was wrong in helping to clear the murky atmosphere that had gathered around the I. W. W.? These facts are easily got at and the onus is upon you, if you are honest to get them, and having got them they will compel you to retract your base insinuation. It is upon the action of the last convention that the stir in the W. F. of M. has been brought about.

It is not necessary for you at any time to state why you left the S. L. P. A man of your type would not last long enough in the air of that country. It is too clear. The air of Erebus was more suited to your writings and to Erebus you went to find a congenial group awaiting you and to assist in the welcome of that to come.

Your advice in regard to De Leon is good, "Do not judge De Leon by what he says, see what he does. Pay little attention to his phrases, closely watch his actions." De Leon has stood the test in the past in the application of this rule and the same rule will be used in the present and in the future to test the honesty of all those active in the march towards the emancipation of the wage worker. As to the Hanford school of insinuators, happily one need only apply the test "watch the phrases" in order to realize how utterly without credence that school is. The trouble of watching your actions is a great deal of trouble saved. You and your school mouth the phrase "intelligence of the wage working class." You don't believe it, the slanders which you present as truth prove that to you they are "Doughnut brigade," "proletaire rabble," etc., etc.

Let us ask who are the fools and who are the knaves? Who are the character assassins, who?

James M. Reid.

Toronto, Canada, July 1.

PROPAGANDA PAMPHLETS.

Address on Preamble I. W. W.
Burning Question of Trades Unionism.
Capitalist Class.
Class Struggle.
De Leon-Harriman Debate.
Historical Materialism.
Industrial Unionism.
Mark, The.
Mitchell, John, Exposed
Reform or Revolution.
Religion of Capital.
Socialism.
Socialism and Evolution.
Socialism, Utopia to Science.
Socialist Republic.
Territorial Expansion.
Trades Unionism in U. S.
Trusts, The
What Is Capital?
What Means This Strike?
Working Class.

These are five cent books. In quantities, for propaganda purposes, the price is $3.50 per 100 copies.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,
28 City Hall Place, New York.

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA

British Capitalists Applaud the Murder Plot of Their American Brethren.

[From the Edinburgh "Socialist."]

That section of the political public, whose views are usually characterized by the indefinite and indefinable epithet "advanced" are wont to point to the "Manchester Guardian" as being the oriflamme of the forces of progress. We are told that it represents the best traditions of Liberalism; that it is democratic without being demagogic; trenchant but not rancorous; the friend of every advanced movement; the untiring opponent of militarism; the defender of weaker nations against the encroachments of plutocratic Imperialism—as witness its pro-Boer policy during the South African war—etc., etc. Nevertheless, in spite of the halo wherewith middle class sentimentalism has surrounded it, the journal has won notoriety even amid its crime-stained compeers of the capitalist press, by the support and approval it has given to one of the foulest and most indecent outrages that have ever disgraced public life.

In December, 1905, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, officials of the Western Federation of Miners, were illegally kidnapped from their homes in Colorado, deported into the neighboring State of Idaho, in defiance of all the legal and constitutional procedure of extradition, and charged with the murder of Steunenberg, ex-Governor of Idaho. From the very outset the capitalist press of America has assumed the guilt of these men, and has done all that was within its power to inflame public opinion against them and render a fair trial impossible. Every species of falsehood and slander that human malignity could devise has been spread abroad in order to blacken the fame of the imprisoned men and prejudice the public against them. The press of the master class has demanded their blood with raucous howls comparable only to those which re-echoed in the Roman amphitheatre when the debased rabble pronounced the death sentence upon some fallen gladiator. This has been going on for eighteen months—during which term the capitalist class has gone through a series of exposures and scandals—all of which have branded it indelibly with the stigma of infamy and corruption. It is only necessary to mention the exposures of the Insurance Companies, the Thaw Trial, and the publication of the Harriman-Roosevelt correspondence as proof of this.

"When rogues fall out, honest men come to their own." The capitalist rogues who have been shrieking for the legal murder of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone have fallen out among themselves. Roosevelt, in the course of a quarrel with his former close friend and political associate, E. H. Harriman, the notorious trust magnate, made the following statement:

"It shows a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which make the man uttering such sentiments, and boasting, no matter how falsely, of his power to perform such crimes, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer or Haywood."

It is unnecessary to point out to any honest, fair-minded man the disgraceful and shameless indecency involved in this statement. That the President of the United States, the political head of the nation, should use his great power and influence to prejudice the case of men who were within few weeks of standing trial for their lives, reveals a contempt for the elementary principles of justice and equity which finds a suitable parallel in the Bloody Assize and Judge Jeffreys.

This is the deed which the "Manchester Guardian," in its issue of April 27th, greets with the rapturous applause of the anonymous liar who acts as their New York correspondent, and whose report is backed u pby editorial comment. Indeed, as if to prove that the correspondent had not yet entirely exhausted the possibilities of lying, the editor, in the sheer wantonness of mendacity, includes Debs as being one of those charged with the murder of Steunenberg! The men who have been kept in prison for eighteen months without being brought to trial (a fact which the editor has seen fit to suppress) are said by this truthful journalist to have confessed that they committed the crime! All the slanders that have been flung at the Western Federation of Miners are dished up anew. The honest editor does not state that none of the charges referred to could be sustained in a Court of Law, in spite of numerous attempts; that the verdict of Carrol D. Wright, Labor Commissioner of the United States Government, and an authority by no means favorably disposed to the working class, revealed that in the industrial disputes in Colorado the criminality and lawlessness had been entirely on the side of the mining capitalists. Neither does he see fit to disclose the fact that the publication of the Harriman-Roosevelt correspondence has unmasked this calumniator of the miners leaders, and has revealed him as an unscrupulous and discredited corruptionist, the dirty and incompetent tool of the trusts. The following letter is a typical specimen of this correspondence:

"Personal.

"Oct. 1, 1904.—My Dear Mr. Harriman:—A suggestion has come to me in a round-about way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have saked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do.

"If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or any matter in which I could give you aid, why, of course, give up the visit for the time being, and then, a few weeks hence, before I write my message, I shall get you to come down to discuss certain government matters not connected with the campaign.—With great regards, sincerely yours,

[Signed]

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

Such is the man whom the "Manchester Guardian" delights to honor. With Roosevelt per se we in Great Britain are not directly concerned. We can leave this stage cowboy, this darling of the snapshot artist, to the tender care of the American Socialist press. The chief interest in this incident lies in the evidence it affords of the sympathy and support which capitalist villainy in one country receives from the capitalists of other nations.

As we write these words Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are being tried. The date almost coincides with the anniversary of the Bloody Week, when the Versaillese troops broke into Paris in 1871 and butchered 30,000 working men and working women. Thirty-six years ago, when these massacres were taking place, the capitalists of all lands, through press and platform, applauded the fiendish deeds of their fellow-criminals in France. The "Manchester Guardian" has made it abundantly manifest that time has wrought no change; that capital is as bloodthirsty and remorseless as of yore; that capitalist outrage in one quarter of the globe meets with the same chorus of capitalist approval as in 1871. Nor is this all. The words that the "Manchester Guardian" utters on behalf of the capitalist class are a direct reminder to the workers that British capitalism will stop at no crime in the attempt to crush the revolutionary aspirations of the working class. It is well to remember that in these days of "Labour" Parties—and to act accordingly.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

S. D. F., CHICAGO, ILL.—The S. L. P. will allow itself to be pulled from its sound poise neither by the clatter of the rattle-brained pure and simple physical forcists, nor by the phrasemongery of the visionary pure and simple ballotists. The S. L. P. rides no one-legged hobby-horse. It recognizes the fractional truth in both honest extremes; it unites these fractional truths into a complete truth, and thereby leaves no loophole for either dishonest extreme—the police spy or the shyster politician—to squeeze in.

W. A. S., SIDNEY, S. W.—Now to your eighth question—

The "Socialist Clubs of Women announced in The People" are not affiliated with any political party. Their membership consists of S. L. P. women, of S. P. women, and of women affiliated with neither or any party.

E. J., WATERBURY, CONN.—Comrade Molineau of the recently organized S. L. P. section in New Orleans makes an observation that answers your doubts—said he: "It is not the non-Socialists that are leaving the S. P., it is the Socialists who are getting out." And he proved the point with the New Orleans experience as typical.

W. H., ROANOKE, VA.—"Industrialism" implies political action

S. L. B., BUFFALO, N. Y.—1. There must be an end of discussion. People get tired of endless discussion. After a discussion has gone on some time its prolongation is useless. 'Tis so with the discussion "As to Politics."

2. No precaution could prevent Orchards from entering an organization. That's granted. It does not follow that therefore no precautions could be taken against Orchardism in an organization. "Physical Force Only" not only invites Orchards, but affords them a chance.

J. F., PATERSON, N. J.—The lines of Butler cover the case of Lodge and the rest of the body of capitalist apologists:

"For he could coin and counterfeit
New words with little or with no wit;
And when with hasty noise he spoke 'em
The ignorant for current took 'em."

E. J. B., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Art so innocent as to imagine that anything you write or say, or anyone else could say or write, could shake the faith of the capitalist in the exemplariness of his own career? Give up the trail: 'tis cold.

J. R., PLAINFIELD, N. J.—The economics of the S. L. P. and its sociology are the economics and sociology of the I. W. W. Nevertheless, until the I. W. W. has gathered strength enough to reflect its own political party on the political canvas of the Nation, it is premature to pronounce any political party the reflex of the I. W. W.

J. M., SPOKANE, WASH.—Whether the I. W. W. should launch its own political party?—For that the I. W. W. is still too deeply in the process of its own formation. That the animosity injected by the S. P. into I. W. W. ranks is a hindrance, that is undeniable, but also unavoidable at present. As to what is to be done, read the article "As to Politics" in the Weekly People of last March 9th. One of the answers there given answers the question, What is to be done?

B. J., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Capitalism WAS right, inasmuch as Capitalism was the logical social sequence from Feudalism, and the necessary social stepping stone to Socialism. In that sense Capitalism WAS right, and now IS wrong. To-day capitalism is like a milk-tooth that refuses to make room for the permanent tooth that lies below—Socialism. To say that what is right is to say a thing open to many interpretations. Capitalism is not right in the sense stated above, but there is a sense in which capitalism IS RIGHT even now. So long as the Socialist or Industrial Republic is not yet ripely organized to take and hold the reins of government, Capitalism is needed. It keeps order. Progress is not via disorder but via order. Of course, the rightness of Capitalism in this respect is considerably qualified by the circumstance that it is directly responsible for the immaturity of the Working Class to take and hold. Capitalism spreads false information and disrupts Labor.

J. C., NEW YORK.—Don't fret about Vorwaerts-Volkszeitung falsifications—that is their business. As to what Moyer may have said, nobody cares. As to the reported words of Haywood they are false. How desperate the pure and simple A. F. of L. politicians are is made transparently clear by the passage of Haywood's letter which the "Volkszeitung" claims refers to De Leon. It obviously refers to Sherman. He it was who said, "The ballot is only a paper wad," it's him Haywood "despises." Don't fret. The field is ours.

A. M., DENVER, COLO.; H. F., CINCINNATI, O.; J. M. R., TORONTO, T. M., NEW YORK; S. G .L., BERN, SWITZERLAND; S. J., DETROIT, MICH.; M. H. S., CHAMPAIGN, ILL.; M. R., HOLYOKE, MASS.; L. K., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Matter received.

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NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY'S EXECUTIVE BODY IN BUSY SESSION.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party met in regular session Sunday morning at Party Headquarters, 28 City Hall Place, with delegates present from seven states.

Those present are: Mrs. Olive M. Johnson, Cal.; Joseph Marck, Conn.; A. Remier, Mass.; Peter Jacobson, N. Y.; Julius Eck, N. J.; John Kircher, Ohio; and D. E. Gilchrist, Pa. Credential were also read for the following members, not present: Jenning, Ill.; A. S. Dowler, Tex.; Howard, Mo.; Matz, Ind.; and Wm. Foy, Minn.

D. E. Gilchrist was elected chairman and Sydney Greenberg, National Secretary Bohn's assistant, Secretary.

On the reading o fthe minutes two important corrections were made.

One referred to the motion by James Connolly, of N. J., at the last session of the N. E. C., to the effect that "The N. E. C. and its Sub-Comittee have the power to insert its official correspondence in the national organ." It was moved by Johson, seconded by Reimer, to correct by striking out the words "The N. E. C. Sub-Committee have the power," etc. Gilchrist and Jacobson voted in the negative.

The other important correction was that of adding to the minutes the statement that the vote of thanks tendered to Charles H. Chase on his resignation at that session from managership of the Party plant, was for his good services rendered. This was carried unanimously and the minutes were then adopted as corrected.

The National Secretary, Bohn, then tendered his report for the last six months, which was full of encouragement. He said that during that time the Party had received a large increase in the membership, six new sections having been organized, and the old sections gaining substantial increases in membership. The prospects for the future are more than promising. A noteworthy fact in the report was that the majority of the new members are revolutionists graduated from the ranks of the S. P., notably in New Orleans.

Important communications were received from Justus Ebert, N. Y., P. L. Quinlan, of N. Y., James Connolly of N. J., Herman Ritcher, N. E. C. member from Michigan but unable to attend, A. C. Kihn, Treasurer of the Press Security League, the International Socialist Bureau, and others. These were read and laid over for action under their proper heads, as were also several letters of lesser importance.

The Committee then adjourned for the noon hour, and on reassembling at 1 p. m., heard the report of the Sub-Committee of the N. E. C., of the business manager of the plant, and of the editor of The People. These dealt with the difficulties so nobly overcome in moving the entire plant to its new quarters, and with several other matters on which also action was deferred to the proper order of business.

All the reports having been heard, the matter of Connolly's report to the New Jersey State convention was taken up. After some discussion, the motion, made by Johnson, seconded by Kircher, that Connolly be removed from the Sub-Committee, was carried, Gilchrist voting in the negative.

The Committee then adjourned till 8 p. m., when it held a long night session.

Second Day's Session.

At Monday morning's meeting of the National Executive Committee, a typographical error in the minutes of the Sunday session of the Committee, published in the Daily People of the same day, was corrected. The Connolly motion, as corrected in the minutes of the January session should have read: "Moved that the N. E. C. sub-Committee have the power to insert its official correspondence in the Party organ."

The ommission of mention of N. E. C. member Wilke's letter, of Wisconsin, was also corrected.

After its recess on Sunday evening, the Committee was called to order at 8 p. m. Johnson made a motion commending the New Jersey comrades and the Editor of The People for their promptness of action in condemning Connolly's report. It was carried, with two dissenting opinions. Considerable discussion preceded the vote on this motion.

The rights and duties of the N. E. C sub-Committee were gone into. After reading the resolution passed at the meeting of Jan. 5, 1907, Gilchrist advised to rescind the previous resolution. Reimer wanted to know if the sub-Committee feels it could do its work under the former resolution.

It was decided to give the sub-Committee a hearing of its case. There ensued an extensive discussion, in which many important points were brought out, which ended with the following motion: That the N. E. C. sustain the appeal of the minority of the sub-Committee in the Gilchrist matter. Carried

At this jucture the meeting adjourned, at 11 p. m., to reconvene on Monday, the 8th, at 9 a. m.

The morning session of July 8 commenced at time specified, with member of N. E. C. from N. J., Julius Eck, absent. He arrived latter in the day.

A letter was received from member of the N. E. C. and also of the sub-Committee, Peter Jacobson, which was his resignation from the latter body.

Reimer and Gilchrist said they could not see why a member of the N. E. C. cannot be a member of the sub-Committee at the same time. Johnson stated that this clause of the constitution (Article V, Section 9) was clear enough. After hearing all the pros and cons on this subject, a motion was passed as follows: Moved by Johnson, seconded by Reimer, "That the resignation of Jacobson from the sub-Committee be accepted, bcause according to the constitution no member of the N. E. C. can also hold a position on the sub-Committee."

Another letter was received from Spokane, Wash., which took the same course as other communications.

It was moved by Johnson, seconded by Kircher, "That the N. E. C. sustain the appeal of Chas. Chase in the matter of the refusal of the sub-Committee to act upon the matter brought before it by the Editor of The People on Feb. 24." Ater considerable discussion, entered into by N. E. C. members, De Leon, Bohn, and members of the sub-Committee, the motion was carried.

So far, the N. E. C. has sustained all the other appeals of Chase to the N. E. C. which have come up.

A few other matters pertaining to the sub-Committee were discussed till the time of adjourning the morning session.

At 2 p. m. the afternoon session commenced.

Without disapproving of the actions themselves, the N. E. C. decided that the sub-Committee had overstepped its powers in several matters, among which was that of sending the Party archives to the University of Wisconsin.

National Secretary Bohn reported that in order to be able to carry out his system of sending out correspondence it was necessary for him to have an assistant in the office. He asked that the N. E. C. hereafter pay his assistants salary, which he had heretofore paid himself. The request was granted.

A committee consisting of Abelson, Augustine, Fischer, and Moskowitz, general party members, were elected to draw up an amendment to the Constitution to permit the admission of race federations to the S. L. P.

It was decided that members who were dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues must re-apply in regular form in order to be admitted again to the Party.

Adjournment followed, to be reconvened at 7:30 p. m.

Sydney Greenberg, Sec'y.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

A special meeting of the N. E. C. sub-committee was held on July 5th, 1907, with comrade Wilton in the chair and the following members present: Vaughan, Wilton, Chase, Jacobson, Olpp, Moren, Walters, McCormick, Crawford, Neuhaus.

Absent: Heyman, Connolly, Romary.

Financial report for the week ending June 29th, shows: Income, $153.86; expenditures, $1021.56.

The minutes of the previous meeting were accepted as read.

The National Secretary reported that auditing committee audited the Financial Secretary's and Treasurer's book, and that they are making progress with the auditing of the Labor News Co. books.

The special agitation committee requests that Comrade Alvan S. Brown be added to the committee; granted.

Communications:—From the Scandinavian Section New York City in reference to selling the "Weekly People" at factory gates. Ordered filed and a copy of it sent to organizer Section New York. From Cleveland Labor News Agency with a bill for printing the Party Constitution in German. Communication received and bill ordered paid.

Moved that the sections pay eight cents a copy for German copies of the constitution; amended to five cents a copy. At the suggestion of the N. E. C. member of Ohio, who was present at the meeting, it was moved and carried to turn it over to the N. E. C. From Section Yonkers a complaint against Section New York County in reference to looking up properly the subscription for Party organ. Moved and carried to refer Section Yonkers to the New York S. E. C. From the organizer of Section Los Angeles in reference to an appeal for the collection of funds for the Lettish Revolutionists. Referred to the N. E. C.

From the International Socialist Bureau an appeal to demonstrate on July 14th against Peace Comedy at Hague and the Tsar's "Coup d'Etat."

From Section Manchester, N. H. a protest against the special assessment of 35 cents per member in order to defray the expenditures of sending delegates to the Stuttgart Congress. Communications received and Secretary's action in this matter endorsed.

From Organizer Jaeger, Chicago, Ill., reporting of his work: 14 new members, 25 new names received, good sale of literature; so far 12 meetings were held. Ordered filed. From Organizer Young, Philadelphia, Pa., on local situation. The secretary's action in this matter endorsed.

From Comrade Irwin, organizer Section Philadelphia, on same matters with suggestions as to the work of agitation and organization. Ordered received and filed and secretary's action endorsed.

From Section San Antonio, Tex., as to the plan of distributing the "Weekly People." Ordered filed.

A bill for pamphlets from Labor News Co. ordered paid.

Comrade Wilton was excused for not having been present at the last meeting and Comrade McCormick for the last three meetings.

A motion was made to recommend to the N. E. C. that it calls upon the California S. E. C. to send in an account as to the moneys collected for the San Francisco sufferers. Carried.

Adjournment followed.

A. Moren, Sec'y.

W. F. M. CONVENTION

DISCUSSION ON FORMATION OF NEW INDUSTRIAL UNION.

Vincent St. John Opposes 1st of October Convention For The Purpose—Points Out Difference Between Revolutionary And Pure And Simple Industrial Unionism.

Denver, Colo., June 30.—Yesterday morning the convention of the Western Federation of Miners decided to hold session to-day, (Sunday) during the regular hours.

Vincent St. John offered a resolution to the effect that whenever a convention of the W. F. M. violates the constitution, nine delegates shall have the authority to seize all the books, papers and property of the Federation, and hire thugs to protect them in holding the same. The nine delegates shall be the sole judges as to whether or not the constitution has been violated. The resolution, I believe, was tabled, but the keen sarcasm it contained, was not lost on the delegates.

The resolution as to the organizing of a new Industrial Union, under discussion at time of adjournment Friday afternoon, was then taken up. Several amendments and a substitute motion, in the form of another resolution were offered, and finally it was decided to refer the whole matter to a special committee of five, with instructions to draft a resolution embodying the various points offered in the several amendments.

The report of committee on Ritual was read and taken up seriatim. A motion to go into executive session, while discussing the ritual, was voted down. (I understand the ritual, containing the provision for pass-word and signs, as well as the obligation taken by members when initiated, has hitherto been secret.)

The first clause of the proposed ritual provided for the opening of the meeting by the president, but omitted all reference to signs, grips and passwords, and thus practically making the meeting open to all. Some discussion followed, the only argument of any account advanced in opposition to open meetings was that if shift bosses and foremen attended the meetings many of the members of the union would not dare state their views.

A motion to adopt the first clause was lost by a roll call vote of 125½ in favor and 207½ opposed. Action on the ritual was then postponed indefinitely.

The convention then took up the 5th clause in the report of the majority and minority of the committee on acting president Mahoney's annual report. The clause dealt with the Miners' Magazine and its editor, John M. O'Neill, the majority of the committee endorsing and upholding the action and policy of the editor, the minority condemning the editorial policy of the Magazine in advocating a specific political party, in its one sided stand on the question of the I. W. W., in its partiality toward the membership of the Federation sending communications for publication, and finally in the manner in which the McCabe miners union had recently been answered. In conjunction with these reports, the report of the committee on education and literature was also taken up, a majority and minority report of that committee being presented. Practically and to all purpose, these reports were the same as those of the committee on president's report. A motion was offered to adopt the majority report of the committee on education and literature, said report was to the effect that the committee found the attacks upon the editor unjustified, endorses the past editorial policy of the Magazine and suggests that in the future more space be given to purely industrial questions and less to politics. Two amendments were offered to the motion and a substitute for the whole, all of which were voted down and the original motion finally carried this afternoon by a roll call vote of 212½ for and 123½ against.

During the discussion of this matter O'Neill was given forty minutes to reply to the criticism, his remarks did not amount to much and a considerable part of his time was devoted to De Leon and the "Daily People". As the readers of The People are familiar with the arguments of O'Neill, it would be a waste of time and space to repeat them here. Delegate Wills of Globe No. 60 in a few words, showed how ridiculous were the remarks of O'Neill, in regard to De Leon.

After settling the matter of the Magazine a motion was carried to take up the report of the special committee on I. W. W. matter. The committee submitted a resolution providing that the W. F. M. invite the two factions of the I. W. W., the United Brewery Workers and other organizations progressive enough to endorse the principle of the I. W. W., as declared in the original manifesto and at the first convention, and meet with the Federation in convention October 1st 1907 in Chicago, for the purpose of reorganizing the Industrial Workers of the World, or ,failing in this, to organize a new National Industrial Union. Motion made to adopt. Vincent St. John again showed his revolutionary spirit opposing the motion and resolution. He questioned the progressiveness of the W. F. M. to be sufficient to adopt or thoroughly endorse the principle of Revolutionary Industrial Unionism, and pointed out that it has not by its actions proven itself so to be.

"The I. W. W. manifesto and principle," he said, "means Revolutionary Industrial Unionism which is something entirely different from Pure and simple Industrial Unionism." He doubted the competency of the Federation, as the initiator of the convention, to decide on the eligibility of other organizations to take part in such convention, where all the enemies of Industrial Unionism, and the solidarity of labor, will be sure to be present in full force and will do all in their power to throttle the revolutionary movement.

"Furthermore," he said, "there is already in existence an organization representing the principle of the manifesto and revolutionary Industrial Unionism, namely the Industrial Workers of the World, why then start a new organization?"

Several amendments were offered to the resolution, and the matter was under debate at the time of adjournment.

Denver, Colo., July 2.—Yesterday the convention of the W. F. M. passed upon the proposition in regard to the calling of a convention to form a new Industrial Union, as mentioned in my last report. A few amendments were added to the proposed resolution without affecting it materially as far as we are concerned.

The convention took up the 6th clause of the proposed preamble which was adopted with amendment by a roll call vote of 192½ for, 121½ against.

The clause as amended reads:

Therefore, we, the wage slaves employed in and around the mines, mills and smelters of the world have associated in the W. F. of M., Mining Department of the I. W. W.

As far as the S. L. P. and I. W. W. is concerned, action has already been taken on all the important questions and most likely the convention will adjourn in a day or two. To-day part of the officers were elected. Moyer and Haywood retaining the offices of President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively, and Mahoney being reelected Vice-President, while Kirwan will remain acting Secretary-Treasurer.

It has been my object in these reports, to familiarize the readers of The People with the important questions acted upon by the convention, the spirit prevailing and the elements present at this gathering.

The members of the S. L. P. and I. W. W. will know how to act in the future. To me the road is plain. The I. W. W. is doing well, and will, in the near future, do much better.

Geo. Anderson.

HENRY MAKI TESTIFIES.

(Continued from page 1.)

berg," said Malich, "calling him vile names, and saying that only for him he would have been a millionaire. It seems he had to sell his interest in the Hercules mine for $500 and skip the country. He blamed Steunenberg for this stroke of adversity and swore he would get even with him."

Malich's store and saloon at Globeville was burned down on June 21, 1905, while he was on his Montrose ranch. He believed it to be the work of the American Smelting Company, on account of his activity in the union. This theory he later proved by 'phoning to the manager of the company, representing himself as a company employe under an assumed name and requesting information on the fire.

Malich said he was introduced to Orchard by A. W. Gratias, described by Friedman in his testimony yesterday as Pinkerton operative No. 42. Gratias called Orchard "Hogan." Malich did not know at the time that Gratias was a Pinkerton spy, as the latter was then doing his spy work while acting as president of the Globeville Smeltermen's Union. Orchard was at the time living with Steve Adams and his wife.

Another crime which Orchard "confesed" Malich wanted him to do, was to blow up William McDonald, the manager of the smelter company's store, as the store was taking away all of Malich's trade. Malich said he never asked Orchard to commit any such crime; the latter suggested it to him spontaneously, but Malich replied that he had all the trade he wanted, and refused to sanction the murder.

Malich also told of a bottle of acid being thrown into his room after a card party on the night of April 27, 1905. The bottle burst about three feet from him, and a splash of acid burned his wrist badly. On cross-examination, Borah tried to prove that in talking with Pettibone about this acid throwing, Pettibone had told Malich that "it wasn't best to monkey with his dope." Malich indignantly denied any such conversation.

The next witness was Joe Mehelich, who testified to traveling with Steve Adams in 1904, leaving his own family with Mrs. Adams. He denied stealing powder for Orchard, as the latter had said he did.

Edward McParland, brother to Pinkerton McParland, who worked up the prosecution's wonderful case for it, was next put on the stand, and gave graphic testimony as to his deportation across the Kansas line from Victor, where he was a shoemaker during the labor troubles there. He thrillingly described the military terrorism in vogue in the district, and told of the indignities put upon him and the union miners during their deportation. Edward McParland was apprenticed to a shoemaker in Ireland at the age of thirteen.

William Ackerman, the next witness, stayed on the stand long enough to deny all complicity with the powder stealing, or the dynamiting plots against Governor Peabody accredited to him by Orchard. He denied being at the Vindicator mine during the whole year of 1903. He also was thrown into a bull-pen. Borah's forty-minute cross-examination of this witness developed nothing.

Thomas Foster described the inquisition inaugurated by Scott and Sterling, the special spies of the mine owners, under the direction of the district attorney, in which it was attempted to force from him a confession of complicity in the Florence and Cripple Creek train-wrecking. Having nothing to confess, he was bull-penned and deported, and is now residing in Bisbee, Ariz.

Ex-Attorney General Engley of Colorado, who was thirty-five years a lawyer in the Cripple Creek district, next testified to the quiet conditions obtaining there during and following the great strike. Over the objections of the prosecution he unfolded some intimate pages of Citizens' Alliance history. The importation of gun-men and desperadoes by the Alliance was brought out. While Engley was acting as the attorney for the Federation, Judge Seeds denied him several writs of habeas corpus for miners for which he made application, the militia being continually present in the court room at "present bayonets."

Twice during a severe illness, Engley was deported from Cripple Creek. He was threatened with bullets and a noose, and forced to walk an entire night with other deported men. Procuring a rifle, a six shooter, and a plentiful supply of ammunition at Colorado Springs, he returned to Cripple Creek determined to maintain his constitutional rights. Thereupon he was waited upon by a committee from the Citizens' Alliance, who unctuously declrade that his deportation "was all a mistake."

On cross-examination, Borah asked Engley whether he was a Socialist. Engley answered that depended upon the interpretation of Socialism, whereupon Borah replied that he might explain Socialism. This Engley did with precision and dispatch. He utterly repudiated the middle class program of government ownership, government trust management, and similar schemes, and unhesitatingly endorsed the the working class Socialism which insists upon labor receiving the full value of its toil. He said his idea of Socialism was "not riding around in a golden chariot with the Republican party or bumping about in a garbage cart with the Democrats." Borah, in a fluster, asked whether it was "riding with Debs in a band wagon." Engley's answer was an unqualified Yes, saying that Debs was another Wendell Phillips. He said he condemned the program of the Socialist party, but heartily approved that of the Socialist Labor Party. Socialistic distinctions being Greek to Borah, the learned attorney for the prosecution concluded his cross-examination with some questions relative to the membership of the Citizens' Alliance at Cripple Creek.

The case of the Haywood prosecution looks sicker day by day. By the time Haywood gets through with his testimony in his own defense, which he is expected to do next Monday or Tuesday, Borah, Hawley, and McParland, will be left without a shred of evidence against their intended victim.

BRADLEY CONTRADICTS ORCHARD.

(Continued from page 1.)

the finishing touches on the utter disproof of Harry Orchard's perjured testimony.

Moore's testimony brought out the circumstances of his mailing of a letter for Harry Orchard to his second wife in Colorado, which letter was mailed by Moore from Nome, Alaska in 1905.

"I first met Orchard," said Moore, "in May, 1904, at Denver. He introduced himself to me, saying that he had met me before in the Coeur d'Alnes. We met occasionally and once I told him that I was about to go to Alaska, to Nome, to organize a local of the Federation. Orchard subsequently came to my room and asked me to mail a letter for him at Nome. The letter was addressed to Mrs. Harry Orchard, Orchard saying that he was anxious to get rid of his second wife, whom he spoke of as 'that woman.' I agreed, and mailed the letter a day or two after reaching Nome."

Borah tried to cross-examine Moore into some mysterious and suspicious reason for mailing the letter at Nome, but only succeeded in helping Moore to strengthen his story.

The testimony of Haywood was very brief. He said he had never been arrested by the militia, but on the contrary had been held on a warrant issued by a friendly justice, who in this way frustrated the ominous intentions of the military.

HANNEMANN'S "CONVENTION."

(Continued from page 1.)

your telephone number, we will let you know.

The Voice—Very well! Have many delegates arrived?

H.—Hm, er, yeas.—Well, no, not yet.—Well, er, hm, yeas, not yet, but LOTS of them are on the way!

The Voice—On the way, eh?!

H.—Yeas, yeas, yeas, indeed!

The Voice—Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha, Ha—You are a good one!

Tableau at 148 West Madison St. Wm. J. F. Hannemann and "his President" Charles O. Shermann stare at each other for five solid hours; and the morning and the evening were the first day.

On the Fourth of July quiet reigned at 148 West Madison. The "convention" was being held; and the morning and the evening were the second day.

On the 5th of July, enter Wm. J. F. Hannemann to "his" office at 148 West Madison at 8:59 a. m. He hangs his hat on the peg and stares at the wall.

Enter "his President," Charles O. Sherman at 9. Keeps his hat on and stares at "your Secretary" Wm. J. F. Hannemann, Hannemann of New York.

Again loud rings at the telephone.

Sherman—Hallo-o-o

Second Voice at the other end, (this time a feminine voice)—Hallo—is this the Headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World?

S.—Yeas, oh yeas.

2d Voice—Is Mr. Hannemann there?

S.—Yeas, hold the line a minute.

(Ominous silence. Finally,)

Hannemann—Hallo?

2d Voice—Oh-h, H'llo,—is this Mr. Hannemann?

H.—Yeas, yes, ma'am, this is Mr. Hannemann.

2d Voice(emphatically)—Mister Hannemann, did you have a convention yesterday?

H.—Well, well—yeas! Who is this?

2d Voice—This is Lillian Rosenzweig, of Butte Montana.

H.—Well! What! Who! Where!!!

2d Voice—LILLIAN ROSENZWEIG delegate of the Telephone Operatives' Union of Butte Montana.

H.—Mercy!—Well, yeas. In a tremendous voice, as if he were gathering his strength.) Who is it, did I hear right?

2d Voice—Yeas indeed, it is Lillian Lillian Rosenzweig.

H.—Lillian Rosenzweig!! Well— — —I will— — —

2d Voice (irritably)—Now listen, MISTER Hannemann. DID YOU HAVE YOUR CONVENTION YESTERAY?

H.—Well—hm—er——yeas, we met, and adjourned.

2d Voice—Met and adjourned!?!?!

H.—Yeas, we will meet again to-day.

2d Voice—Oh-h-h-h—Now listen, MISTER Hannemann. Where will you meet? (In an injured tone.) I went all over and looked for you yesterday, and could find you nowhere.

H.—What! We were in the office all day! You must have gone to East Madison!—Did you go to WEST Madison?

2d Voice—Well, where will you meet to-day?

H.—Come to the office, come to 148 WEST Madison.

2d Voice (rather curtly)—Well can't you tell me what hall to go to?

H.—The hall!—(pleadingly) Ah, come here, come to the office first. Then we will go to the hall together.

2d Voice—(In an injured tone again) Well, you see, MISTER Hannemann, after I went all over looking for your hall yesterday, and in this terrible rain to-day, I don't want to risk coming to the office and finding you gone; so give me THE NAME OF THE HALL.

H.—Did you go looking for THE HALL yesterday?

2d Voice, angrily—Yes, certainly; indeed I did, all day.

H.—(Very coaxingly) Ah, come here, come to the office first, I assure you you won't have far to go to the hall.

2d Voice, (a little haughtily)—Ah, very well then, I will. Good bye.

H.—Good bye. Be sure to come to the office.

2d Voice—Very well. Good bye.—Oh, hello, hello!

H.—Well?

2d Voice—Are many delegates here?

H.—Yeas,—er, hm— well, ugh, NO (perfectly crestfallen). No, no delegates have arrived yet,—but be sure to come to the office.

2d Voice—Very Well. Good bye.

H.—Good bye. (Hangs up the receiver.)

H. to Sherman—I will be——

Sherman, (to Hannemann)—I will be——

Wm. J. F. Hannemann, Hannemann of New York, and "his President" Charles O. Sherman, stare at each other for exactly 8 minutes and 3 seconds.

Suddenly a third ring at the telephone.

Hannemann (to Sherman)—You answer!

Sherman (to Hannemann)—You answer!

H.—No, you answer.

S.—It is your duty as "our Secretary" to answer!

Desperate ring at the 'phone.

S.—Answer. Your office depends upon your obedience.

Hannemann (at the 'phone)—Hallo-o-o!

A Third Voice at the other end also feminine—Hallo! Is that you Hannemann?

H.—Yeas; who is it?

3rd Voice—Julia Mechanic!

H. (relieved)—Julia Mechanic! (In a would-be jolly tone) How are you, Julia?

3rd Voice—Oh, very well. How are you—Say, Hannemann, say,—where is your convention to be held to-day? I want to attend it, I am going to be at your convention ALL DAY TO-DAY. Where is it to be held?

(Hannemann, Hannemann of New York, in the meantime has choked for breath, and found it again, and in desperation kicked over the waste basket, even the which is empty.)

H.—Well, er, hm,—now see here, Julia, there will be no convention!

3rd Voice—NO CONVENTION!!! WHY, HANNEMANN,—WHAT IN THE WORLD—NO-O-O-O CONVENTION!!! Why? O, tell me why! Why in the world?!?!?

H.—Well,— NO DELEGATES HAVE COME!

Tableau!

Hannemann hangs up the receiver.

Hannemann (to Sherman)—I will be——

Sherman (to Hannemann)—I will be——

Consternation reigns in the office at 148 West Madison St.; and the morning and the evening were the third day.

But the best of it all is that the First Voice was A. S. Edwards, Editor of the Industrial Union Bulletin; the Second Voice was Mrs. Olive M. Johnson; and the Third Voice was Mrs. Oscar Neebe, wife of the vindicated comrade of the Chicago martyrs of 1887.